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THE WAR AND MISSIONS IN THE EAST

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

TRADE, POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY IN AFRICA AND THE EAST

BY

A. J. MACDONALD, M.A.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

SIR HARRY JOHNSTON, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., Sc.D.

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THE WAR AND MISSIONS IN THE EAST

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By the Rev.
A. J. MACDONALD, M.A.
Formerly Chaplain to the 15th Divisional Artillery.

Maitland prize essay, 1918.

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PREFACE

THE following work is the Maitland Prize Essay (University of Cambridge) for 1918. The sources of information for China and Japan are admirably collected each year in the *China Mission Year Book* and the *Christian Movement in the Japanese Empire*. I am especially indebted to the courtesy of the Edinburgh Continuation Committee of the World Missionary Conference of 1910 for the loan of three volumes of the *China Mission Year Book*. Through being called up for service with the Army I was not able to await the arrival of these books from China. For political and commercial topics on China and Japan, I have used the *London and China Telegraph*, *The Times* Annual and Quarterly Trade and Financial Supplements, and *The Times History of the War*. The chapters on India have suffered from the absence of any general survey of mission work such as exists for China and Japan, but a close examination of the reports of the leading British Societies has done much to meet the necessity. A general annual survey of missionary work in India is being planned. Information on the political conditions in India has been obtained from the *Pioneer Mail* and *The Times History of the War*.

When my previous book, *Trade, Politics and Christianity in Africa and the East* appeared, one reviewer complained that no missionary authorities or statistics were quoted. But the omission was intentional, partly because the thesis then set by the Maitland examiners did not necessitate any appeal to such sources, but more especially because I was anxious to add weight to my conclusions by avoiding any suggestion of bias. This seemed the more desirable because the thesis was concerned with controversial topics. In the case of the present essay, on the contrary, it was necessary to draw largely upon missionary sources of information, because the thesis was more definitely concerned with missionary affairs, and because it did not raise questions of the same controversial character.

I intended to devote one or two chapters to a consideration of the effects of the War upon the home organisation and work of the missionary societies, both British and American, but I was called away before this was possible. For the same reason the chapters on China were hurriedly written, and the whole work had to pass without a thorough revision. Since the text was completed the Montagu-Chelmsford Report has been issued, and some development of the political

problem in India has taken place, but my work abroad made it impossible to supplement what I had written in the first half of 1918. A similar reason prevented any attempt to bring the statistics quoted right up to date. But the main conclusions of the book have not been affected by either of these omissions, indeed a cursory survey of recent evidence has confirmed them.

I have not felt it necessary to add to the text a discussion on the Montague—Chelmsford proposals, because it was no part of my task to discuss in detail the political situation in India from the point of view of politics, but rather the general effect of the war upon recent political movements, so far as they form a background for the position of the missions. That effect has manifested itself, as I have tried to show, in the re-grouping of political parties, and in the appearance of new voices in certain parts of India, phenomena which, of course, appeared before the actual proposals of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford were published in July, 1918. These proposals may be had in a conveniently abridged form from John Murray, London, price sixpence. The full Government Report is Cd. 9109.

For the interpretation of the facts, and the opinions expressed, as well as for the general treatment of the subject I maintain complete responsibility, also for the concluding chapter on "Christianity and the Orient."

I am indebted to my father for much work in preparing the essay for the press.

A. J. MACDONALD.

THE PARSONAGE,
ALYTH,
SCOTLAND.

CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE
I	India: The War and Self-Government	1
II	India: The Political Situation and Christian Missions	24
III	India: The Work of the Missions	39
IV	Japan: Direct Effects of the War	66
V	Japan: Trade and Christianity	84
VI	Japan: Nationality and Christian Missions	101
VII	Chosen (Korea)	117
VIII	China: The Political and Economic Situation	125
IX	The Chinese Republic and the Missions	140
X	China: Progress of the Missions	155
XI	Christianity and the Orient	171

THE WAR AND MISSIONS IN THE EAST

INDIA: THE WAR AND SELF-GOVERNMENT

IT was the expectation and hope of our enemies that a European war would be accompanied by a break-up of the Empire. It was foreseen that very heavy demands in the way of military service, finance, and supplies would have to be made if the British Empire were to withstand the shock of a great European conflict. Our enemies hoped that certain disruptive tendencies which were visible in all parts of the Empire would be made more acute when those demands were formulated, and to no section of the Empire did they look more hopefully than to India. The event has shown that the premise upon which they based their conclusion, at least so far as India was concerned, had considerable grounds for justification. Disruptive tendencies were, and are still in existence, in a very marked form, and all the resources of our Statesmanship are being called forth to combat them. But the conclusion which was drawn from the state of affairs in India has been proved incorrect, for the results of the call for man-power and money have been followed by a strengthening of the ties which bind the sections of the Empire together, and by an exhibition of solidarity which has been a revelation as well as a disappointment to our enemies. India has stood the test together with our Crown Colonies and Dominions, and the chief element in her fine record of War Service lies in the fact that she alone of all the outer range of the Empire possessed the means, and exhibited the desire to fill in the gaps in the battle-line in Flanders during the early stages of the war, when trained men were not to be obtained anywhere else. It is no exaggeration to say that the maintenance of the Ypres

salient during 1914 and the early part of 1915 was partly due to the efforts of the Indian Expeditionary Force which landed at Marseilles.

But if the war has revealed the solidarity of our imperial structure, and especially the loyalty of India to the imperial cause, it has also shown that the different sections of the Empire have not lost sight of the particular political and economic ambitions which were loudly proclaimed in pre-war days. Indeed the war has served to accentuate them. The very principle which Great Britain placed at the forefront of her declaration of war has served to quicken the national ambitions of India. The mere fact that we entered the war to vindicate the principle of nationality in Europe against the imperial aggression of Germany could only result in the re-statement and re-emphasis of those claims for national self-expression which India for a generation has been making. It was to this fact that our enemies pinned their hopes of disruption in India. It will only be by some wise recognition of this fact upon the part of the Imperial Government that those hopes will be finally and completely shattered. The combined influence of Great Britain's statement of its original war aim, and the loyalty shared by India in assisting the war machine, makes impossible anything but toleration and a certain large concession to the claims for an advance in self-government which have been so vigorously revived. Whatever may be the practical difficulties standing in the way of concessions, the logic of the position drives us inevitably to the conclusion that the plans already being developed, before the war, towards the self-government of India, must be quickened. We have staked the whole of our action in this war upon principle, to a degree never before witnessed in the history of warfare, but principle cannot be maintained in air-tight compartments. Its sole justification, as the mainspring of action, lies in consistency. To pour out blood and treasure for the defence of Belgium and Serbia, would be little less than hypocrisy unless the claims of distinctive nationalities within our own imperial system were allowed the fullest consideration consistent with the welfare of other parts of the whole. To make this statement is not to ignore the fact that India is a multiplicity of nations; that her political leaders, and the advocates of

her ambitions are not always accurate exponents of the needs of the great agricultural masses of the country, and these facts must always be kept to the fore in any discussion of the political conditions and aspirations of India.

The most important effect of the war upon India has been to accentuate her claim to a larger measure of self-government. There has been a recrudescence of political agitation in all parts of the country. At first the Government of India and the Home Government maintained an attitude of silent reserve which was something more negative than non-committal. The result followed that German machinations, organized from Berlin and Geneva, were given time to hatch trouble in British Columbia, California, Japan, the Dutch East Indies, Siam and China.[1] Attempts were made to seduce the Indian troops at Hong Kong, Singapore, Penang and Rangoon, with serious results at Singapore. Insurrection and dacoity, fomented by German agents from these foreign bases, broke out in Bengal, the Punjab, Burmah and on the North West frontier during the latter part of 1914 and the early part of 1915.[2] The tribal disaffection on the North West frontier was not stamped out until August 1917. All these disturbances were clearly traced to German sources. The hopes of our enemies were grounded in the semblance of justification given to the claims of the rebels by the political aspirations of a large section of the Indian community, and of this the Germans were not slow to make use. It became increasingly clear that if the teeth of the movement were to be drawn, and if loyal subjects of the Empire were to be prevented from being drawn into the vortex of disturbance by the mere logic of the situation, some definite declaration of policy upon the part of the Government was essential. It was also clear that the declaration must take the form of concession, nothing less would remove the *raison d'être* of the insurrectionaries and save the more loyal elements from self-destruction. In the spring of 1917 an entirely new departure was inaugurated when three Indian delegates were nominated to sit on the Imperial War Conference, with powers equivalent to those enjoyed by the representatives of the Dominions, but a more decisive step was taken on August 20th,

[1] *Times History of the War*, Part 186, pp. 132–134.
[2] Ibid,, pp. 134–144.

1917, when the Home Government made clear that it had at length grasped the situation. Mr. Montagu, the Secretary for India, made a statement on Indian policy in the House of Commons, and promised to proceed to India to examine Indian opinion. By this time the revolts had been stamped out, but no surer means of guarding against their reappearance, or of vindicating the vigorous repressive policy of the Government of India, in the eyes of the people of India, could have been adopted.

It is essential to grasp the fact that the war has not in any sense created the demand for self-government in India. For more than a generation it has been recognized as a practicable proposition, not only in the debates of the National Congress, and by moderate men like the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale and Sir Pherozshah Mehla, but also by the Home Government and the Government of India. As far back as 1892, seven years after the foundation of the Indian National Congress, the principle was recognized during Lord Lansdowne's viceroyalty, when the number of Indian representatives on the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils was increased. This measure was largely extended in 1909 during Lord Minto's viceroyalty, when Lord Morley's Indian Council's Act came into force. Indians were appointed to the Viceroy's Executive Council, to the Executive Councils of the Provincial Governors, and to the Council of the Secretary of State at the India Office. Moreover, their number in the Legislative Councils was increased. The reform of 1909 did little more than extend the concession of 1892, that is to say, the executive machinery of the central government was thrown open more largely to Indian representatives.

But in the same year the Government of India began to declare a new policy. It had long been recognized that in the village councils of India there seemed to be the elements of a representative system. A Royal Commission, appointed to examine the "panchayats" and other village councils, reported favourably on the possibility of using the village councils as the basis of any scheme of representation which might be put into operation. This appeared to be the more desirable since the village council is a very ancient institution in India.[1] The recommendation has not been lost sight of by

[1] Cf. John Matthias: *Village Government in India*, 1915.

the central government, from time to time the attention of the provincial governments has been drawn by the Government of India to this aspect of the political problem.

The importance of this declaration of policy cannot be over-emphasized. Theoretically it amounts to a confession that the steps towards reform hitherto taken have commenced at the wrong end. Practically it shifts the political question to a very large extent from the control of the hot-heads of the Congress, and the whole class of town-bred politicians into the ken of the agricultural masses of India who form the bulk of her people. The problem is by no means simplified because the village people at present have not received sufficient education to enable them to deal with the matter themselves. For if the political difficulty in India has hitherto been made dangerous by an excess of education, or by education of the wrong sort, among the town politicians, it threatens to become obstructed by the absence of education in the country.

On August 20th, 1917, ten days after the final suppression of sedition, when the Mahsuds made their submission to Sir George Roos-Keppel on the North West frontier,[1] Mr. Montagu made the following Statement in the House of Commons:—

> "The Government of India have for some time been urging that a statement should be made in regard to Indian policy, and I am glad to have the opportunity afforded by my hon. friend's question of meeting their wishes. The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration, and the gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible, and that it is of the highest importance as a preliminary to considering what these steps should be, that there should be a free and informal exchange of opinions between those in authority at home and in India. His Majesty's Government have accordingly decided, with His Majesty's approval, that I should accept the Viceroy's

[1] The Mohmands had already been quelled in the same month.

invitation to proceed to India to discuss these matters with the Viceroy and the Government of India, to consider with the Viceroy the views of local governments, and to receive with him the suggestions of representative bodies and others. I would add that progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. The British Government and the Government of India, on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples, must be the judges of the time and measure of each advance, and they must be guided by the co-operation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service will thus be conferred, and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility. Ample opportunity will be afforded for public discussion of the proposals which will be submitted in due course to Parliament."[1]

Mr. Montagu reached Delhi on November 11, 1917, and began a tour of the country in company with the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford. It at once became clear that India was not united in its demand for immediate reforms. This had long been known, and the opponents of the extremist press had repeatedly emphasized the fact, but the strong condemnation brought to bear upon the proposals in many parts of the country, from all kinds of Indian opinion, came in the form of a surprise.

There can be little doubt that the voice of opposition has been considerably strengthened by the revelations of the Criminal Investigation Department concerning German intrigue and the seditious outbreaks, but especially by certain inter-racial and inter-religious disturbances which broke out in the latter part of 1917. Riots, in which Hindus and Muhammadans came into serious collision, took place at Shahabad, in the western part of Bihar, at Allahabad in the North West Provinces, and at Multan in the Punjab.[2] At Shahabad there was loss of life, sacrilege in the Mosques and gross ill-treatment of Muhammadan women. The latent antagonism between Hindu and Muhammadan, which the coalition of the Congress and the Muslim League had but thinly veiled over, at once sprang into

[1] *The Times*, Aug. 21, 1917.

[2] Other riots have occurred in South Canova in the Madras Presidency. *Pioneer Mail*, Mar. 22, 1918.

sight. A certain section of the Muhammadans, in opposition to the Hindus, began to adopt a critical attitude towards the reform proposals of the Government. With the exception of the disturbances at Multan, there seems to have been no direct connection between these outbreaks and German propaganda. At Shahabad, especially, the trouble was caused by a sudden reappearance of the ancient hostility between Hindu and Muhammadan which has always been emphasized by the critics of self-government in India, as the most serious hindrance to any progress in this direction. Its reappearance at this juncture must cause the Government to advance very warily, and cannot but have some influence in hindering the progress of the "successive stages" of reform promised by Mr. Montagu. Moreover it shows that the "responsibility" of those natives of India in whom it is "found that confidence can be reposed" will be a very heavy one.

Mr. Montagu received deputations from the leading political, commercial and religious interests at Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. No scheme of proposed reform had been communicated by the British Government or by the Government of India, nor were any suggestions offered to the deputations by Mr. Montagu. The object of the mission was to ascertain the opinions of the various combinations and interests representing all phases of Indian life, upon the question of reform, so that the British Government and the Government of India might feel that any scheme they put forth in fulfilment of the pledge given in the House of Commons on August 20, 1917, would have every opportunity of meeting actually existing requirements.

This policy was practically an invitation to political parties in India to draw up and advocate their own schemes of reform. Consequently the declarations of the deputations took the form of something much more definite than mere statements of grievances. This was perhaps inevitable since the positive claims of advanced Indian reformers have been quite clearly announced through the channels of the Congress and the Muslim League for some years past. Whether the Secretary of State gained an illumination from their most recent programme remains to be seen. A more important point has been gained in the fact that the Secretary of State's tour has called forth the opinion of another large section of the Indian peoples, whose wishes have not perhaps been unknown, but which have now

been clearly articulated for the first time. In the main this new expression of opinion has gone against the Congress-League. Thus the result of Mr. Montagu's visit appears to have divided India into two camps. This does not mean that the issues have been narrowed down to two clearly defined statements of opinion, arising from the inherent needs and conditions of two great parties or divisions of the people. The slightest examination of the statements made by the different deputations shows that all the old lines of cleavage—political, religious, social, racial—are still there. But it does reveal one entirely new and in many ways welcome phenomenon in Indian politics—the break up and recombination of the two great communities of India. Hindus and Muhammadans are to be found in both camps. There may be special reasons to explain this phenomenon, but there are none which can explain it away. This disunion and reunion—this disintegration, and recombination, forms one of the most promising features for the future of self-government in India. A bond of union which is not religious, which has sprung into existence in spite of religion, has been found. It has been discovered by the advocates of both policies, thus showing the possibility of its extension and application not merely to different political necessities, but to necessities which are not political. It is no mere inflation proceeding from a single wave of passing political fervour. It has always been regarded as axiomatic that Indian political conditions must be deprived of unity by reason of the hostility of Hindu and Muhammadan, and vice versa. The union effected between the Congress and the Muslim League some years ago was indeed regarded with surprise, but it was not taken seriously by onlookers. The response offered to the declaration of Indian policy made in the House of Commons on August 20, 1917, and the visit of the Secretary of State have shown that it was cohesive, and the further fact has been revealed that other sections of the same communities can also unite in support of their own programme. This is one of the indirect results of the war upon India, a result influenced by the attitude of the Home Government, which has shattered an old political superstition and revealed a political development new to Indian life.

On the other hand it is to be observed that the union so far attained is little more than formal at the present time. The

lines of the cleavage are still there. It will be long before they are erased. It is rather as a promise for the future than as an achievement for the present that the recombination of political elements in India is to be regarded.

The policy outlined by the Secretary of State in the House of Commons promised a substantial measure of reform, along the lines of self-government, to be introduced gradually, at the discretion of the British Government and the Government of India, after the responsibility of those in whom confidence was to be placed had been tested. The declaration was at once answered by the Congress-League with a claim to a large measure of Home Rule, to be introduced at an early date. Indeed the Congress-League threw in its lot with the Home Rulers headed by Mrs. Besant. The petitions offered by each of these organizations to Mr. Montagu at Delhi were almost identical in substance. The scheme of the Congress-League has the support of a large number of organizations throughout India which in one form or another all maintain the policy of Home Rule. It is the Congress-League scheme which forms the basis of union of one section of Indian opinion, and the fundamental principle which underlies the scheme is the conviction that the time has come for the British Government to begin its departure from India, and to begin the process of handing over full responsible government to the people of India.

In the address presented by the Congress-League to Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy at Delhi on November 26, 1917, the deputation suggested that the reforms to be introduced as "a first instalment should confer a substantial increase of power on the people through their chosen representatives in the councils, and further, that the determination of further progress should not, as has been proposed, be left entirely to the Government in India and England. It ought to be recognized that the people of India themselves, as the party principally affected, have a right to them."[1] Thus the steps of the Home and Indian Government towards reforms are to be quickened on the ground of an abstract principle, and regardless of practical necessities or difficulties.

In the scheme of reform which the deputation proceeded to unfold it was "urged that in matters of internal administration

[1] *The Pioneer Mail*, Dec. 1, 1917.

the control of the Secretary of State should be replaced by control of the legislature, the Government of India similarly devolving power on the provincial Governments which in their turn will owe responsibility to the respective legislatures. It must obviously follow that there should be a strong Indian element in the executive Governments, as well as that the Legislative Council should be expanded and reformed so as to consist of a substantial majority of members elected directly by the people on as wide a franchise as may be possible, and these Councils should be endowed with real and substantial power, not only over legislation but also over finance and administration. We venture to think that the Congress and the Muslim League make no extravagant proposals when they ask that one half of the Executive Councillors should be Indians and that four-fifths of the Legislative Councils should consist of elected members, nor, we submit, are the powers proposed for the latter bodies excessive or impracticable . . . non-official proposals affecting communal interests to which three-fourths of the members belonging to the community object should not be proceeded with in any Legislative Council."[1]

On the other hand the deputation stated that one of the "basal principles" upon which the scheme was erected was "that the British connection with India should be safeguarded." It was "proposed that the Government of India should continue to owe responsibility to His Majesty's Government and, through them, to the British Parliament in matters pertaining to foreign relations and the defence of the country."[2] Moreover, although one of the grave objections to the scheme, as will appear in the addresses of other deputations, is that the Congress-League proposes reforms at the wrong end of the political scale, yet the deputation did lay emphasis on its case for the "re-institution of village panchayats," and "a wider diffusion of education in all its branches."

On the same day Mrs. Besant read the memorial supported by the deputation of the Home Rule League. The memorial asked for "self-government, for a Government responsible to the elected representatives of the Indian nation both in provincial Councils and in the Supreme Council, a National Parliament." But it stated that "as a first step we are

[1] *The Pioneer Mail*, Dec. 1, 1917. [2] Ibid.

willing to accept a transitional stage to this goal and this is embodied in the Congress-League scheme." Thus the hand of the extreme advocates of reform is revealed.[1] The programme of the Congress and Muslim League, though far-reaching and revolutionary, is a mere preliminary to larger demands to be made, at least by the Home Rule League section, at no distant date. It is not the substance of either declaration which calls for serious consideration—that indeed must be on the horizon, even if the far horizon, of every well-wisher to the political and national aspirations of India—but the attitude of haste which both addresses imply.

The Congress-League scheme enunciates as a "basal" principle, "that the British connection should be maintained." The actual value of that proviso appears when comparison is made between the scheme and the constitution as it stands at present. India is governed by three departments, or from three centres. The head of the system is the Secretary of State assisted by the Council for India, containing from ten to fifteen members, with advisory powers and special control over finance. The Council for India is responsible to the House of Commons through the Secretary of State.

Secondly, there is "the Government of India," which consists of the Viceroy, who possesses supreme civil and military authority, with control over the local governments, and is assisted by an Executive Council on which there are six "ordinary" members, besides the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief. This Council controls, on the cabinet system, Foreign and Home affairs, Finance, Legislation, Army, Revenue, Agriculture (including Public Works), Commerce and Industry. The supervision of Foreign affairs is reserved for the Viceroy. For legislative purposes the Viceroy's Council is expanded into the Legislative Council including sixty-one additional members. These comprise the Governor of the province in which the Council happens to meet, as an ex-officio member; thirty-five nominated members, of whom not more than twenty-eight may be official members; and twenty-five elected members who are elected directly or indirectly with special representation for Muhammadans and landowners.

Thirdly, there are the local governments, of which the chief

[1] *The Pioneer Mail*, Dec. 1, 1917.

are the two presidencies of Madras and Bombay, and the five lieutentant-governorships of Bengal, the United Provinces, the Punjab, Burma and Assam. The Governor or the lieutenant-Governor, is assisted by a Legislative Council, modelled on the Legislative Council of the Viceroy.

It cannot be denied that the initiative in all matters of vital importance rests with the Viceroy in Council, that is, the Executive Council. The Legislative Council is in the main an advisory body, except so far as it possesses the power to reject legislation presented to it. In the same way the provincial legislative councils possess little more than the right to express opinions upon matters specially brought before them, or independently upon the general conduct and policy of the Government of India. At the same time the weight of Indian influences is by no means small, especially on the Viceroy's Council. The Executive Council contains an Indian member. The elected members of the Legislative Council are returned by representative bodies. In 1912 they included twelve Hindus, nine Muhammadans, two Englishmen, one Parsi, and one Buddhist. These were returned by the non-official members of the provincial legislative councils, the Muhammadans and landowners of the large provinces, the chambers of commerce of Bengal and Bombay and other interests. The thirty-five nominated members included in 1912, two Hindus, two Muhammadans and one Anglo-Indian.[1] Moreover the provincial legislative councils must have a majority of unofficial members, and this varies from three to thirteen in the different provinces.

The hub of the wheel of the present constitution is the Viceroy's Council. At the same time the superior authority of the Secretary of State and the Council of India is sometimes brought into operation, as, for example, when Lord Curzon's objections to the military reforms of Lord Kitchener were overruled, and when Lord Morley introduced the Council's Act of 1909. The Congress-League scheme proposes to pass over *per saltum*, the executive powers of the one, and the supervisory powers of the other, by transferring to the provincial governments the control of all internal affairs, leaving to the Government of India foreign affairs and relations with the native states and by abolishing the Secretary of State and the Indian Council

[1] *The Britannia Year Book*, 1913, p. 609.

altogether. The local governments are to be placed almost entirely under the control of Indians. One half of the executive councils is to consist of Indians, and four-fifths of the legislative councils are to be elected members, returned by the people directly, on the widest possible basis. In a word the scheme suggests the erection in India of a number of semi-independent states, governed on the broadest democratic basis. Even so the Home Rule League regards the scheme as "a first step," and a "transitional stage."

In attempting to arrive at the native opinion of India, no survey of the addresses offered to Mr. Montagu by British and Anglo-Indian interests will be made. This is not because the opinions expressed by them are not of importance, indeed some of these deputations expressed some sound political wisdom on the vital topic in dispute. But the only criticism which ought to carry decisive weight with a government which has confessed its desire to ascertain Indian opinion is that which comes from Indian sources.

Some thirty deputations supported the Congress-League scheme. On the surface they present a very imposing array on the Congress-League wing, and there can be no doubt that they do represent many very important interests in Indian life. But certain equally important elements are not there, and the number of deputations which actually opposed the scheme is about the same as that which supported it. The Congress-League have succeeded in gathering around them the support of a large amount of educated opinion in the towns of northern and central India. They have not been equally successful with the urban areas of the south. With one doubtful exception they are not supported by the rajahs or landowners. That exception was provided by the zemindars and landowners of the Madras presidency, whose suggestions amounted to a modified scheme of the Congress-League proposals, but there was nothing to show that they were in sympathy with all the claims put forward by the League. Again, the vast agricultural population, all over India, have given no organized adherence to the Congress-League reforms, not because their wishes are inarticulate, but because their opinion runs contrary to that of the politicians of the League. In a word the League has not been able to secure undivided allegiance from the

Muhammadan community, nor even from the whole of the Hindu community.

So far as it goes the alliance between Hindus and Muhammadans is indeed remarkable. At the same time, some of the Muhammadan addresses, which were verbally favourable to the scheme, showed a certain nervousness as to the possible effects of the proposals on the Muslim community. The Punjab Provincial Muslim League,[1] the Bengal Muslim League[2] and the Anjuman-I-Islamia,[3] suggested that 50 per cent. of the Indian representatives in every branch of the administration should consist of Muhammadans, with the exception of the legislative councils, both imperial and local. In this case the Anjuman-I-Islamia proposed that the Muslim members should be 36 per cent. But in either case the proportion suggested is significant, in view of the fact that the proportion of the Muslim to the Hindu population is as three to ten.

A certain number of the Muslim deputations such as the Punjab Muslim League[4] and the National Muhammadan Association[5] maintained an intermediate position, but a larger number of the Muslim deputations expressed open disapproval of the Congress-League scheme. They agreed that no step should be taken which might weaken the present control of the British Government in India,[6] since the British alone are able to maintain an even balance between the conflicting creeds, castes, customs, institutions and interests in India.[7] Finance should be left, as at present, to the Executive Councils, and the function of the Legislative Councils should continue to be purely advisory.[8] If the proposal to elect Presidents to the Councils be carried out they would not be able to command the confidence enjoyed by the representatives of the Sovereign whose impartiality is unimpeachable.[9] The reforms of the Congress-League would lead to the political inferiority or extinction of the Muslim

[1] *The Pioneer Mail*, Nov. 24, 1917. [2] *The Pioneer Mail*, Dec. 8, 1917.
[3] *The Pioneer Mail*, Dec. 29, 1917.
[4] *The Pioneer Mail*, Dec. 8, 1917. [5] Ibid.
[6] Muslim Defence Association, The Monighyr Loyalists' League.
[7] The Indian Muslim Association, The South India Islamia League. The Muslim Anjuman.
[8] The South Indian Muslim League. *The Pioneer Mail*, Dec. 23, 1917.
[9] The Muhammadans of Bombay. *The Pioneer Mail*, Dec. 29, 1917.

community.[1] If the Indian representatives to the Executive Council are to be elected by the elected members of the Legislative Councils, no Muhammadan would stand a chance of being returned,[2] since the effect of the party system would be to place the minority entirely at the mercy of the majority.[3] An illustration of what would be in store for the Muslim community has been afforded by the Bihar riots.[4] The boasted unity of Hindu and Muhammadan, as represented bythe League, is not a sign of the dawn of a new age of "inter-communal amity," indeed "the ink of the compact of fraternity and help has been washed away by the blood of the victims of the Bakr-Id riots at Arrah and the Ramlila-Moharrum disturbances at Allahabad."

The Muslim deputations show conclusively that the old divergences between the Muhammadan and Hindu have not been smoothed over, even in urban centres, where educated opinion is supposed to have outgrown the cleavage. The Muhammadans feel it necessary to claim certain safeguards, which would render any scheme where they were included extremely clumsy in operation. This fact alone seems to show that the time for an advanced measure of Home Rule has not arrived. Not until the two great Indian communities have become more reconciled, and in a measure cohesive, so cohesive as to trust each with the welfare of the other, can any system which places the interests of one community in the power of the other be introduced with safety. Whatever reforms the Home Government may introduce are bound, in wisdom, to be influenced by the urgent warning which the Muhammadan community, both in the deputation and in the country districts, have so clearly uttered.

Behind the urban deputations a gathering volume of rural opinion in Muhammadan centres is making itself heard. The Shiahs and Sunnis of Koath, Babhnaul and sixteen other villages held a mass meeting on October 30, 1917.[5] They resolved that the menace of the "Home Rulers' plot," was detrimental to

[1] The Indian Muslim Association, the Bihar and Orissa Muslim Association.

[2] South Indian Muslim League. The Mohammedans of Bombay.

[3] Mohammedans of Bombay. *The Pioneer Mail*, Dec. 29, 1917.

[4] The Monighyr Legislative Association. The Indian Muslim Association.

[5] *The Pioneer Mail*, Nov. 10, 1917.

"the religious, social and political interests of the Indian Mussulmans." A public meeting of the Muhammadans of Kara, Thana Obra, Bamandiha, Memora, and Koranpore, passed similar resolutions.[1] It resolved "to keep entirely aloof from the Home Rule League." Another meeting of the Muhammadans of Shergati, District Gaya, expressed loyalty to the British Government, and urged that no steps should be taken which might hinder it in the midst of a war for the very existence of the Empire.[2] The Muhammadans of Burdwan, Muirshidabad and Faridpore resolved that Home Rule, in the form suggested, was unsuitable for India, and was detrimental to the people of India at large as well as to the Muslim community.[3] The same opinion was expressed at a meeting of Muhammadans at Bareilling on November 14, 1917, moreover it was maintained that the officers of the All-India Muslim League had totally disregarded the wishes of the Muslim community in the matter of Home Rule. The scheme should never have been considered as approved by Muslims.[4] The Muhammadans of Darbhanga and Muzzaffarpour also agreed, in a public meeting, that the people of India generally, as well as Muslims, would suffer under the scheme.[5]

These opinions are of immense importance because they reveal the attitude of the rural Muhammadan population, which would be the first to feel any ill effects from an unwise and hasty surrender of British authority. The conditions of the non-Brahmans under a Hindu régime would be bad, that of the "depressed" classes would be more insufferable than at present, but that of the Muslims, in country areas, would be nothing less than dangerous."[6]

The religious cleavage revealed by the Muhammadan memorials is sufficient to show that the solidarity of the Hindu and Muslim communities proclaimed by the League is by no means an assured fact recognized by the Muhammadan constituencies.

We have seen that a certain nervousness was expressed by

[1] *The Pioneer Mail*, Nov. 10, 1917. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.
[4] *The Pioneer Mail*, Nov. 17, 1917. [5] Ibid.

[6] Not because the chiefs of the Congress-League party would advocate a policy of repression, but because they are not at present able to restrain the religious fanaticism of some Hindu elements in their following.

some of the Muhammadan supporters of the Congress-League scheme. In the same way some of the Hindu delegations expressed anxiety for the welfare of the Hindu religious system under the scheme. The orthodox Hindus,[1] and the Deccan Hindu Sabha desired that safeguards should be given for the maintenance of Hindu religion, especially in the schools for Hindu children.[2]

Of still more importance has been the appearance of a cleft in the Hindu wing, arising from the conflict of interests in the religious and social organization of Hinduism. The schism, for it is nothing less, has not taken the form of an attempt on the part of non-Brahman Hindus to safeguard their interests within the scheme of the Congress-League, along the lines suggested by some of the Muhammadan deputations which gave their adherence to the proposals, it has appeared in the form of open opposition to the whole scheme of the League. The Brahman and non-Brahman communities are in open conflict upon the most essential points of the reform programme. The non-Brahman attitude is defined by the deputation of the South India Liberal Federation, which in quite explicit terms dissociates itself from the Congress-League scheme. The memorial of the Federation is of sufficient importance to justify full quotations. The footnotes will show to what extent its sentiments are supported by other non-Brahman organizations. "Your memorialists feel constrained to strike a discordant note, as otherwise from previous experience they are afraid that it will be made out that the demand has behind it the united voice of the people of India. . . . the proposals . . . will . . . tend to weaken the British authority in India and thereby jeopardize the interests of the large and hitherto inarticulate masses of the country. We are not in favour of any measure which, in operation, is designed, or tends completely to undermine the influence and authority of the British rulers who alone, in the present conditions and circumstances of India, are able to hold the scales even between creeds and classes and to develop that sense of unity and national solidarity without which India will continue to be a congeries of mutually exclusive and warring creeds without a common purpose and

[1] *The Pioneer Mail*, Dec. 15, 1917.
[2] *The Pioneer Mail*, Dec. 29, 1917.

a common patriotism. We do not believe that the time has come for anything like Home Rule to be granted to India. The large majority of the population of this country are not educated enough to use any political power that may be given to them with wisdom and discrimination, nor have they any political traditions to guide them; and they are unwilling that, till they are educated up to a standard that will help them to take an intelligent interest in the government of the country by the discriminate use of the franchise that may be given to them, their destiny should be handed over to the care of a small section of the Indian population, though men are not wanting amongst themselves who can fairly take their legitimate share in the councils and administration of the country in any scheme of reforms which may reasonably meet the actual needs of the hour. The majority of people in this presidency who demand Home Rule at the present time belong to the class of Brahmans; but not less than forty out of the forty one and a half millions who form the population of this presidency are non-Brahmans who, including as they do, Zemindars, landholders and agriculturists and owning the bulk of the property in the province, pay practically the whole of the taxes collected in the presidency which go to maintain the Government. . . . Under these conditions we are afraid that if Home Rule or self-government were granted to India at the present time, the government would pass into the hands of a close oligarchy unfit either by tradition or training for wielding political power, and thus the interests of the masses would suffer."[1]

The deputation went on to say that they favoured "a progressive political development." After the war reform might be effected "by the creation of municipalities and local boards with powers to manage their own affairs liberated from the leading strings of government." All communities and interests should be represented in all spheres of administration. The legislative councils should be enlarged, and in order to secure

[1] *The Pioneer Mail*, Dec. 22, 1917. Cf. Non-Brahman Conference on Nov. 14, 1917, at Madras (*Pioneer Mail*, Nov. 17, 1917).

Non-Brahman Conference at Pullivandellu (*Pioneer Mail*, Nov. 10, 1917).

Non-Brahman Communities of Madras, (*Pioneer Mail*, Dec. 22, 1917.)

political training elections to the councils should be direct. The franchise should be on a communal basis, so as to secure proper representation of all interests, for "owing to the recently acquired Brahmanical ascendency in the bureaucracy, the franchise distributed on any but a communal basis cannot but be inequitable and lead to the oppression of the masses." As an experimental measure the Legislative Councils might be entrusted with local self-government, including primary education, sanitation, agriculture, co-operative credit, and industries. "The other departments should continue to be directed as at present, the Legislative Councils retaining their present advisory powers."[1] The Executive Councils might be enlarged so as to include one-half non-official Indian members. "We do not approve of the policy of the non-official members of the Legislative Council electing members of the Executive Council and forcing their candidates on the head of the Government." Such members should be selected. "Neither are we in favour of reproducing in the Indian Legislative Councils the British Parliamentary system whereby the House of Commons can stop all supplies. . . . In conclusion, we request that before any definite action is taken the Government will examine the interests and wishes of each important caste, class and community with conscious care and in a less conventional manner than has been done until now. Until social exclusiveness and the rigidity of class and caste disappear, progress towards self-government in India ought to be slow. We beg to impress on you the necessity for consulting the opinion of other and more important interests than those of the Congress and Muslim League, which are now entirely guided by a body of 'impatient idealists' who in no way represent the mass of the people of this country, before finally deciding the form and extent of the political reforms that are to be conceded to India."[2]

The non-Brahman revolt is not confined to the South of India. A combined deputation representing the Deccan Ryots Association (Poona), the Kamkar Hitmardhate Sabha (Bombay) and the Maratta speaking Hindu backward classes of Bombay,

[1] Cf. The Kerala Janmi Sabha (*Pioneer Mail*, Dec. 22, 1917).

[2] *The Pioneer Mail*, Dec. 22, 1917; cf. also *Pioneer Mail*, April 5, 1918.

and a deputation from the Maratta Conference revealed the existence of the same schisms among the Hindus of the North. The deputation emphasized the unfitness of Indian society for the application of democratic principles of government. The difficulty was made worse by the lack of education among the masses. Unless extreme care is taken the interests of the various castes and classes will be seriously damaged by any scheme of democratic reform which is introduced.[1] Their address goes more deeply into the fundamental difficulties of the position than most of the others. Not merely is there a cleavage between Brahman and non-Brahman by virtue of the social and religious rivalry existing among the castes, but there is a conflict of principle and sentiment between western and oriental modes of thinking and living.

The Congress-League has failed to carry with it certain large and important sections of the Hindu and Muslim communities. But the tale of opposition, even so, is not complete. Throughout India there is a large class of non-caste people, who are the descendants of the ancient non-Hindu inhabitants of the land and whose numbers have been increased by Hindus who have lost caste. They include the Dravidians of the south and the Sudras of the north. While often confused with low-caste Hindus, there is a very real distinction to be observed between the two classes. The non-Brahman Hindus, although subject to certain disabilities both social and religious, none the less possess a certain clear recognition among the leading castes of Hindu life. The Dravidian, or Sundras, or "depressed" classes include about one-fifth of the population. In the words of the memorial presented to Mr. Montagu at Bombay by the " Depressed " Indian Association their " social condition . . . is so miserable that it is impossible to point out on the earth's surface any parallel to it. They are treated by the rest of the Indians,—Hindus, Muhammadans, Jains and all —as if they were worse than beasts. They are not allowed to live in villages or towns, they are deemed untouchables. If an ' untouchable ' accidentally touches a member of the non-untouchable class the latter must wash himself and his clothes to get rid of the pollution. . . . In their struggle for self-elevation and self-emancipation they have to fight not only

[1] *The Pioneer Mail*, Dec. 29, 1917.

against the selfish interests of the priestly class but against the ignorant superstitions of the masses. . . . The British rulers are their true friends; their own countrymen are the declared enemies of their interests, moral and material, social and spiritual."[1]

The deputation maintained that all their hopes for future development were centred in the continuance of British authority in India. If a larger number of Indians be admitted to the higher posts of government the "depressed" classes are bound to suffer. At the same time they advocated certain definite reforms. The provincial governments should be completely autonomous, the legislatures should be enlarged, but the proportion of elected to nominated members should be only two-thirds. The resolutions of the Legislative Councils should not be binding on the executive. Voting should be by communities, and the "depressed" classes should be represented on a communal basis; but if they prove to be too backward to be entrusted with voting power, at least eight members from their class should be nominated for the Bombay presidency. The deputation fully recognized the need of education among the backward classes and urged the matter upon the Government as a first step towards the democratization of the masses.

The opinion of the backward classes of Bengal was voiced at a meeting held in Calcutta on November 4th, 1917.[2] The representatives of two million Namasudras of that province disowned entirely the Congress-League scheme, on the ground that backward communities like the Namasudras would suffer if the proposals were accepted, and that all hope of future advancement would thereby be removed, since power would be placed in the hands of a few castes whose outlook and interests were in open conflict with that of the backward sections of the people.

In the south of India the "depressed" community possesses better organization than in the north. Two deputations presented addresses to the Secretary of State at Madras, expressing convictions similar to those uttered at Bombay. The Madras Dravidian Association[3] desired that no change should be made in the character of the British administration.

[1] *The Pioneer Mail*, Jan. 5, 1918. [2] *The Pioneer Mail*, Nov. 10, 1917.
[3] *The Pioneer Mail*, Dec. 22, 1917.

If power were centred in the control of any one class the troubles of the backward classes would be increased tenfold. The Madras Authee Dravida Jana Sabha said that the few educated men among them were not allowed to rise because of the opposition of the Hindus. "The very names by which these people referred to the community breathed contempt." They urged the Government to assist them in the attempt to raise the Dravidian Community to the level of that of the non-Brahman Hindu. As to Home Rule "they would fight to the last drop of their blood against any attempt to transfer the seat of authority in this country from British hands to so-called high-caste Hindus who had ill-treated them in the past and would do so again but for the protection of British laws."[1]

From Burma the same expression of Dravidian opinion was presented by the deputation of the Rangoon Dravida Mahajana Sangam.[2] In the same province the religious cleavage, which has already been shown to consist of a three-fold conflict, consisting of the Brahman, non-Brahman, and Muhammadan, with a possible fourth, if the animistic cults of the "depressed" people can be included under the heading of religion, appears in another form. The prevailing religion in Burma is Buddhism. Two deputations were received from Burma by Mr. Montagu, in the Buddhist interest. A joint address was sent by the Burmese community in general, the Burmese Merchants Association, and the Burmese Co-operative Societies,[3] and a memorial was signed by fifty-four officials and committee members of various Burmese co-operative societies.[4] Both petitioned for the separation of Burma from India, mainly on religious grounds. So far from supporting the programme of the Congress-League, the latter memorial desired the appointment of a Governor of British birth, that one half of the Legislative Council should consist of Burmese, while half of the responsible posts should be filled by Englishmen or Burmese. Another deputation sent by the Burma National Karen's Association[5] was even less advanced in its proposals, it declared that Burma was not yet in a fit state for self-government, and advocated compulsory education. On the other hand the

[1] *The Pioneer Mail*, Dec. 22, 1917. [2] Ibid.
[3] *The Pioneer Mail*, Dec. 15, 1917. [4] *The Pioneer Mail*, Dec. 22, 1917.
[5] *The Pioneer Mail*, Dec. 15, 1917.

Burma Provincial Congress [1] gave its support to the Congress-League scheme, and the Young Men's Buddhist Association General Council was anxious for a constitution resembling that of the British colonies.

It is not necessary to consider the addresses of a number of other Indian deputations which took up a more or less moderate position between the supporters and opponents of the Congress-League. Sufficient has been quoted to show that one of the chief results of Mr. Montagu's visit to India has been to stir up and emphasize the different religious and social entities which go to make up Indian life. In so far as Mr. Montagu's tour was the outcome of a desire on the part of the Home Government to make some return to India for her loyal support in the war, this agitation may be said to be one of the effects of the war upon the life and outlook of India. On the one hand the war has served to quicken and call forth the vibrating national aspirations of educated India, for in one form or another nearly all the deputations desired reform. On the other hand it has laid fresh stress upon the divergent religious and social fissures which divide up Indian society, and which threaten to act as a reactionary influence upon the development of national aspirations. The Indian qua Indian, be he Hindu, Muhammadan, Parsi or Jain, is anxious to secure the recognition of India as an independent unit of the British Empire, but the Indian qua Hindu qua Mussulman, qua non-Brahman, qua outcaste, with the exception of a small but educated and clamant minority, is still looking to the British Government to protect him against aggression, political, social and religious, from all the rest. No class in the whole country is more loud in its calls to the Government of India, as at present established, than the great company of depressed peoples and the Muhammadans of the rural districts. That the wishes of these rural communities have been made articulate is one of the most satisfactory results of the present political agitation. It foreshadows the time when the country people of India, who represent its real constituency, shall be able to make their voice heard above that of the many agitators of the towns. It is a warning that any Government which disregards the rural voice will fall lamentably short of its duty to India, to the Empire, and to the very principle of democracy.

[1] *The Pioneer Mail*, Dec. 15, 1917.

INDIA: THE POLITICAL SITUATION AND CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

THE results of the Home Government's promise of further reforms for India, as a recognition of India's war services, and as a means of pacifying certain sections of the community, gave fresh impetus to the whirlpool of Indian politics, and added new currents to it. This declaration of good-will, designed to be the means of drawing the conflicting interests of India together, has been followed by an outburst of sectarian and partisan rivalry. These disruptive tendencies are now shown to be of more inherent and incorrigible character than was ever realized in the days when the British Government maintained a sphinx-like silence, which was interpreted as indifference if not hostility to all questions of reform. In India to-day there is not one party headed by the Congress, and another by the League, still less one grand and blessed state of wedlock consisting of a united Congress-League, but a commotion of self-contained and self-assertive parties, as numerous as the different religions and social communities. Any Government which begins to make advances to modern India will find that it has to deal not with any one coy and shy maiden, graced by the traditional oriental submissiveness, but with a whole zenana of self-expressive if not vociferous respondents to its attentions.

What has been the attitude of the Christian communities in the rencontre ? They have gone with the stream. Instead of standing apart, and refusing to take any share in the political discussions until a certain clear centre of cohesion had been revealed, to which, in loyalty to national aspirations, it would then have been their duty to adhere, they have stepped into the arena, and without discarding the Congress-League, have none the less added yet another string to the strident discord which the bow of reform is at present playing. Three Christian deputations were interviewed by Mr. Montagu. The Indian

Christians of All-India requested that the Christian community should be adequately represented in all reform schemes.[1] The Indian Christians did not support any of the schemes before the public but presented one of their own, which included the extension of the Legislative Councils, and a reserve of ten per cent. of elected members for themselves.[2] The Catholic Indian Association desired the maintenance of religious tolerance, the right to be controlled by canon-law, the representation of Indian Christians on the Executive and Legislative Councils together with ten per cent. of the elected members on the Legislative Councils on which there should be a non-official majority.[3] The second of these deputations also suggested that all legislative enactments should be subject to the veto of the Governor and the Secretary of State.

The position of the Christian community is admittedly difficult. If they stand aside from the controversy they will heighten the old cry that the Christians are denationalized and are threatening the undoing of Indian nationalism. But by joining with other interests and by asking for special terms they have taken a step which only confounds still more the political confusion of India. Moreover such a course is scarcely true to the tenets of their faith. They stand for no race, and should stand for no creed, but for the equality of all men in privilege, in security, in opportunity, and responsibility, under God, and through the ruling powers. The curse of India is the clash of caste with caste, of class with class, and community with community. Christianity has the power as well as the will and open profession to de-classify men, and to de-caste them, but it can only be done by following the primitive practice of the Church, and by keeping politics out of religion, in that way only will it stand a chance of letting religion into politics which is the desideratum in India as elsewhere. India is still a "mission-field" just like the Roman Empire. The missions of the Church in the Roman Empire did not memorialize the Government on matters of political importance, however much they may have flattered an Emperor if he showed any disposition to be kind. The result was, that one day, without knowing it, the Church awoke and found that she had received all she

[1] *The Pioneer Mail*, Dec. 15, 1917.
[2] *The Pioneer Mail*, Dec. 22, 1917. [3] Ibid.

wanted and a good deal more, for an Emperor came and sat in the chair of one of her great councils. But it was a hard course, for during the centuries preceding the Council of Nicea, the only Christian assembly in which the Emperors had sat were the beast fights when the Christians were thrown to the lions. So too in India, to stand by and to be mocked, will be a hard course, but whatever the effect be in bringing about the grant of more responsibility to the Indian peoples in the matter of self-government, the Christian Church will gain little for herself or for India by adding yet another rivulet to the tide which rushes only to destruction. India needs cohesion. She needs binding together. She requires a Gospel which will break down the fortifications of caste, and remove the mobile artillery of religious fanaticism. To meet this need some new centre of gravity must be established, some rallying point to which every man, be he Hindu, Muhammadan, Brahman, or outcaste, can flee when he throws aside the fetters. Can the Church provide this need ? The Gospel is able to supply the inspiration, but the need will not be met if the Church surrenders the Sermon on the Mount and the maxims of St. Paul for a " separate scheme " which demands ten per cent. on the Legislative Councils.

A similar problem centres in the question of education in India. On the one hand the development and extension of education is being urged by all classes in India, whether British or Indian, as a means not merely of fostering the spirit of Indian nationalism, but of simplifying it and making the Indian people fit to proceed with self-government. On the other hand an attempt is being made to organize education on a religious—and what is worse—a sectarian basis.

Until recently the demand for education was confined to a comparatively small section of the people who looked forward to employment in Government service, or in the professions and occupations of the towns. It was urged mainly by those who had themselves received a university or at least a high-school training. But the demand is now being made by the representatives of the non-Brahman Hindus, and especially by those who voice the needs of the depressed classes. Moreover the object before the demand has been vastly broadened. The outlook is no longer merely towards a proper equipment

for civil service or urban life, but towards the training of the masses to make them capable of being enfranchised. That is to say the demand gives expression to the prevalent nationalism of modern India, and points out the most practical way of realizing it.

The memorial presented to Mr. Montagu at Bombay by the "Depressed" Indian Association drew the most emphatic attention of the Government to education as the fundamental preliminary to any introduction of self-government. "We submit that the spread of primary education by its being made free and compulsory should form an integral part of the scheme of reforms that will be framed. The masses, and especially the 'depressed' classes, in this country have been sunk deep in ignorance for ages past, and unless they are enlightened and the hold of vile and degrading superstitions on their mind is removed it is in our humble opinion unwise even to think of democratizing the Indian constitutions."[1] The first stage in reform should not be "the transfer of political power to Indians, but the fitting of them for the exercise of political power which can but be accomplished by educating the lowest classes and thus enabling them to throw off the yoke of social tyranny." Another step should be the provision of scholarships for the "depressed" classes in the high schools and colleges.[2]

The general principle of free compulsory education, at least as an ideal towards which the government and people should work, is not open to criticism, for by no other means can self-government, even in a small measure, be placed upon a safe foundation, but the suggestion to create special scholarships for the depressed community again raises the difficulty which is the foremost obstacle to the development of nationalism and self-government in India. It reasserts the old tendency to communal cleavage. If education is to be organized on communal lines, whether the classification be religious or social,

[1] *The Pioneer Mail*, Jan. 5, 1918.

[2] Cf. *C.M.S. Report*, 1914–15. The depressed classes are becoming self-assertive.

But cf. Reports on the Progress of Education in the Punjab and Central Provinces (*Pioneer Mail*, Mar. 15; April 5, 1918). The official view in these provinces is that compulsory education is not at present possible because the people do not show sufficient interest in it.

the object for which education is to be given—namely, the creation of a unified national political atmosphere—will be defeated.

Even more reactionary is the demand made by the deputation of the "Orthodox Hindus of India" that "religious instruction on Hindu lines should be made compulsory in all schools and colleges for Hindu boys and girls; and no non-Hindu religious teachings should be permitted to be imparted to them except with the express sanction of the parents or guardians of the students concerned."[1] In effect, education so far from attempting to fill in the chasms which yawn between the different religious and social groups of India, is to be used as a means of more clearly defining and maintaining fissures already existing.

The memorialists have in their favour the educational policy of the Government and of the missionary bodies. As recently as 1915 the Government of India gave notice of residential universities to be founded at Patna, Dacca, Nagpur and Rangoon, in which religious instruction was to be compulsory. The war has caused the postponement of the scheme. But the new Hindu university at Benares, where attendance at religious instruction is compulsory for Hindus, was opened by Lord Hardinge in February, 1916. In all these schemes not only must the students be segregated in order to meet the requirements of the present religious divisions, but the different castes have to be dealt with in the same way. But although the separate university and the hostel system may place education within reach of classes who would otherwise remain untouched—unless they were prepared to break caste—the communal or social cleavage which is the more important aspect of the religious divergence, is not in any way lessened.[2] It is on the whole increased. It is true that in some cases students professing different religious beliefs may learn to regard each other with less hostility and suspicion as the result of coming in contact in class-room and playing-field. But in most cases the special arrangements made to preserve these distinctions in hostel and mess-rooms, and in some cases in class-rooms, cannot but emphasize the differences.

[1] *The Pioneer Mail*, Dec. 15, 1917.

[2] Cf. *C.M.S. Report*, 1914–15, p. 118—on the necessity of mixing the different races.

The missionary bodies in India have made an earnest attempt to overcome the difficulty, either on the one hand by refusing to recognize religious distinctions, or by the use of hostels and separate mess-rooms. But the mere fact that a college or school is being maintained as a distinctly Christian institution only maintains, in another form, the sectarian nature of Indian social and religious life. It is but to add another caste or class to the many rival communities already existing.

The caste difficulty is not confined to educational missions, for in evangelistic work, and especially in the mass movement areas there is a danger that the caste system may be carried over bodily into the Church. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel reports that in Chota Nagpur "there are districts where there is danger of creating a caste Christianity. Large numbers of one caste become a Christian community and may refuse to have any communion with another caste as with something common or unclean."[1] Thus a feature which has been largely instrumental in assisting with the conversion of whole districts, may prove to be accompanied by serious after-effects. The mass movement operates upon caste, or at least, upon communal lines. When the headman or some leading person in a caste or village becomes a Christian he frequently brings over the greater part of his caste or village with him, but the result tends to be neutralized by the conservatism of caste prejudices which this process sometimes involves.

Another influence which has some bearing, indirect perhaps but clearly visible, upon the problem of social cleavage is the fact that the missions themselves are divided into sects.[2] Wherever it has been possible to demarcate distinct and separate spheres of activity this hindrance is not so marked, but even so, it may become patent to the mind of the native convert, if he removes to the area of another mission. But in those places where two or more missions belonging to different Christian sects are at work, the different classification cannot fail to impress itself upon the native mind as a species of caste. At least the tendency to divide up is so strong in native society, that the Christian exhortation against caste is likely to be

[1] *S.P.G. Report*, 1916, p. 40; cf. *Report*, 1914, pp. 56–57.
[2] Cf. Infra, pp. 62–65.

discounted, when the native convert realizes that after all the Christian Church consists of a number of sects. Moreover, practical difficulties often occur. Occasionally the agents of one mission are none too scrupulous about receiving into their membership converts of another mission who have been placed under discipline, and sometimes there is actual rivalry for converts between different missions.

The strength of the disruptive tendencies which persistently split up Indian life, has been brought home to the missions by the demand for a " conscience clause " in the schools. Soon after the beginning of the war the Government was compelled to bend before the logic of present conditions, by providing that non-Hindu students at the university of Benares should be exempt from the necessity of attending religious instruction. The case for a " conscience clause " has been developed by the Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, the successor of Mr. Gokhale as secretary of the Society of " The Servants of India." But if a " conscience clause " is to form the solution of the problems created by the presence of students belonging to religions, other than that taught by any particular university or college, once more the religious cleavage will be emphasized and maintained. If positive religious teaching is to be given it does not seem possible under any circumstances to avoid the evil of continuing the present disruptive conditions of Indian life. The difficulty arises not merely from the fact that the religions of India are and have always been in conflict, but that they have worked themselves into the social structure of a large section (Hindu) of society, and what is worse they originate from a division which is one of race. The need of modern India is to forget that it is composed of different races, but to remember that religion comprises different races.

Nothing is to be gained by refusing to admit the well nigh insoluble difficulty of this problem. Racial divisions have never been overcome in any part of the world, save where the rival communities concerned have been sufficiently small to enable complete fusion by inter-marriage or where one was sufficiently large to absorb the other by the same process, and even so, the strong hand of a determined government has been necessary to assist the process. But no complete racial fusion can be effected by two or more races which are nation-wide

in size. Still less can any government coerce into union two peoples which number tens of millions. If religion is regarded as a vital background for social life, as in the case of India, rivalry assumes the form of friction, and ebullitions of racial and religious hatred are sure to appear.[1]

The wiser policy seems to be to recognize frankly the fact of division, and to make arrangements for the conflicting elements to develop side by side with as little friction as possible. The art of government is concerned not so much with the deliberate attempt to weld the joints between the different peoples which it controls, as to pour oil on the points where the bearings meet. At least nothing should be undertaken which tends to maintain, still less to increase racial or sectarian rivalry. But this is what the policy of the Government and the missionary societies in recent days has tended to encourage. Whether the scheme be that of a Hindu or Muhammadan university, or separate hostels and mess-rooms, or the classification of the conscience clause, the result is the same in each case—Brahman and non-Brahman, Muhammadan and Parsi, Christian and outcaste, find themselves being shepherded into separate folds where only the sheep of their own sort are encouraged to consort.

The problem seems to be narrowed down to one conclusion. If the attempt to educate India by trying to meet the demands of the different religious interests of the country fails to attain that unification of opinion and aspiration along national lines, which is the object of education, would it not be wiser to drop the question of religion in education altogether? Let the education in the schools and colleges of the country, wherever Government money is in use, be entirely secular. Some such suggestion seems to be implied in two of the four premises on which Mr. Sastri bases his claim for a "conscience clause." He maintains that "it is a violation of the religious neutrality of the Government to make any grant from public funds to an institution which makes religious instruction an essential part of its course," and that "it is an illegitimate use of the taxpayers' money to devote any part of it to an

[1] This refers to the special type of native religion in any area. There is no reason why Christianity should not form a centre of unity for converts from the native religions.

institution which exists to propagate a religion of which many, possibly a large majority, of the taxpayers disapprove."[1]

It is the fashion at the moment to cry out against secular education as a cause of irreligion, especially in western countries, and to point to Germany as a country which has pushed the process to excess, and dragged the world into war because of the selfish materialism imbibed by her people from a secular educational system. Moreover the suggestion has been made that India is suffering from political unrest, and Japan is on the verge of an atheistic materialism because of the process by which the western nations have taught them to disregard their own religions, and to concentrate upon secular western knowledge. Fundamentally no doubt the contention is true in every case. Secular knowledge without religion does produce materialism, and tends to produce anarchy. But can it be proved that religion in the schools will ever convert secular knowledge from a lion into a lamb? If we were certain that religion, in the highest sense of the word, could be taught in the schools, a miracle might take place there as well as in any other sphere where religion operates. But can religion be taught? The schools are for teaching, and unless religion is capable of being reduced to a number of educational maxims, or to a system of co-ordinated knowledge, without losing its direct spiritual appeal or power of converting, it seems to be a fruitless task to include it in the school curriculum. But indeed religion is not a teaching, although it may have become encrusted with teachings, and although its exponents may be doctors more or less learned, from the status of B.A. up to that of Emeritus professor. Religion is a life, an example, a way, a practice. It can only influence people by being lived out in their midst. It is apprehended by experience not by intellect. It is doubtful whether any conversion ever takes place, or any man is ever built up in the traditions of his own faith, by means of teaching, whether in school or college, or even in the home circle. Religious instruction, religious argument, religious disquisition, have proved extraordinarily barren in the attempt to infuse religion into common life, in all parts of the world. It is holiness, not knowledge, which carries weight and influence, and in no country in the world does

[1] *The East and West*, July, 1917.

the "holy man" make a greater appeal than in India. The Indian, unlike the Chinese or the German, has no respect for mere learning, or the merely learned man, but the guru and the fakir move him because they manifest a spirituality which he himself is seeking. When Kim followed "the holy one" he was accepting religion in the only manner in which a native of India can apprehend it. When he passed through St. Xaviers' without being touched by Christianity, he did so, not only because he was an Indian and the religion taught him was western, but because what was taught was not, and could not be religion.

If it were possible to ensure that the staff of the schools and colleges were "men of religion," qualified by a natural holiness of disposition, which revealed itself apart from all teaching or precept, a good deal more might be said for the teaching of religion in schools. But the educationalists at work in India with very few exceptions are no better and no worse than other good men who have a high conception of duty, a desire to serve their fellow-men, and a faith which serves their individual needs. To ask more is to ask the impossible, in view of the constitution of human nature. Indeed if such men could be found in large numbers, their work would not lie in the schools until other branches of religious work had been adequately manned, for the crying need of religion the world over, even in its highest functionaries, is spirituality and personal holiness.

But even if men of the requisite type could be found, only part of the problem would be solved. Even the "holy man" cannot influence people until they feel the need of religion, and that condition of mind is only created by an adequate experience of life. Religion is an individual search for God, created by dissatisfaction with human affairs brought by experience of life. Not until a man has reached this stage is the guidance of priest or prophet, guru or teacher likely to be of much service. All other conversions are apt to be influenced by extremely mixed motives.

To expect such an attitude of mind in children and young people seems hardly reasonable. In the one case they have yet to make acquaintance with life, in the other their interest in it has not been exhausted. If religion is urged upon them

too insistently the emotions may be moved, and perhaps the will, but not the heart, with the result that the ardent religious professions of youth often end in morbidity of spirit or fizzle out into a mere nominal practice of faith. We are beginning to realize that former methods of education, which insisted upon the careful and wearisome instruction of children in religious principles were wrong, and that, on the contrary, the true method is to allow the young mind to work its way towards God naturally, by encouraging its interest in the natural world, and in the aspirations of youth, while leaving the need for religion to be felt as life shall reveal its necessity, or at the most, by pointing out where God appears in nature and life, and not, as formerly, emphasizing the contrast between this world and the next, and by attempting to reduce the life of the spirit to a system of education or a code of rules.

Some such philosophy seems to be behind the contentions of a young Indian Christian, who was formerly on the staff of the Christian College at Madras, and who has recently published in London a book on "Village Government in British India." Mr. Matthai thinks that "in the average level of personal and public character, there is little to distinguish the products of Christian colleges from those of State colleges."[1] He speaks from experience as a student and teacher, and says that religious instruction in a missionary college is "altogether an inadequate method for the end in view," because there is not that "receptive attitude on the part of the pupil," and "willingness to listen sympathetically to a spiritual message." A better method is to create a religious atmosphere in the colleges by the influence of Christian men on the staff and among the students. He continues, "even for the professed object of missionary colleges at present, namely, the leavening of non-Christian society with Christian ideals, the most effective means is not direct religious instruction, though this is important, but the silent influence of a Christian atmosphere. If the educated classes show a growing appreciation for Christian standards, and a desire to form a Christian basis for the social and political life of India, this has been due not to the teaching of Christianity in mission schools and colleges, but to the effect of English literature which sets forth Christian ideals."

[1] *International Review of Missions* (April, 1917).

A similar view of the comparative failure of Christian instruction in the schools and colleges to effect any marked influence upon the educated classes has been expounded by the Bishop of Madras, who says that "though high schools and colleges after his (Dr. Duff's) model have been established all over India, and much energy and ability have been thrown into them, comparatively few converts have been made."[1] The Bishop suggests that more attention should be devoted to the education of the thousands of converts who are entering the Church through the mass movements.

The experience of some educationalists in India harmonizes with that of the educationalists of the west. There can be little doubt that enforced attendance at school chapels, and the teaching of religion through the Greek Testament lesson forms a serious hindrance to the growth and development of piety and devotion in later life. Many boys are made permanently antipathetic to religion because of the way in which it was imparted to them at school.[2] In the elementary day schools the results are similar. Religious instruction is often given by the same teacher who gives the other lessons. It is given in a cold formal manner, which can never create religion in the hearts of the children, even though the lesson be redeemed by being interesting. To the child the teacher stands forth as the embodiment of discipline and "lessons." He does not appear as a spiritual influence, winning assent by the mere exertion of a fine inward spiritual character and ethos. For many children religion has been made permanently distasteful by the recollection of school scripture lessons.

Thus on two grounds the removal of religious instruction from the schools of India seems to be desirable, firstly, because it would reduce the opportunity for the appearance in the schools of those religious schisms which rend India asunder, and make difficult her training and preparation for self-government; secondly, because experience seems to show that the benefits derived from such instruction are extremely doubtful in value. The situation has been made more acute by the declara-

[1] *International Review of Missions* (Oct., 1916). Cf. a criticism of the Bishop's views by Dr. William Miller in the same issue.

[2] On this subject cf. W. E. Bowen: "*Edward Bowen: A Memoir.* (Longmans), and especially Mr. Bowen's statements on education.

tion of Government policy which has followed the outbreak of war, and by the more urgent insistence placed upon education by the deputations interviewed by Mr. Montagu.

What effect would these suggestions have upon missionary enterprise? It will be well to face the facts of the case and not merely its merits. Even on the assumption that religious education is entirely beneficial and completely successful it seems doubtful whether the missions will be allowed freedom for any long period to conduct their schools and colleges on the lines pursued in the past. The Government, a year or two ago, seemed determined, upon the ground that secular education had been allowed too great a freedom, to insist upon definite religious education. But a change has been revealed in its attitude. Has it realized that the cry against a so-called secular education can present little to justify it? Anyhow the regulation that all Hindu students at Benares should attend religious instruction has been modified, the matter has been left to the decision of the University authorities.[1]

Of more significance is the appeal for a "conscience clause." That is the first step in the process by which the Government will in the end find itself compelled to control the whole educational system of the country. Its introduction into the schools of Ceylon has already caused the closing of forty mission schools.[2] The Indian people are demanding compulsory education. The trial in Burma has justified the experiment. It is now being enforced in Bombay. Its extension will be a concession to the popular will. But the next step will be the request that all religious instruction shall be removed from schools receiving State grants. Mr. Sastri's statement on behalf of a conscience clause foreshadows this.[3] In time the

[1] *International Review of Missions*, Jan., 1916, p. 41.

[2] *International Review of Missions*, Jan., 1918, p. 34.

[3] The tendency is already at work—" It should be clearly understood that the proposals for residential universities which are now being considered in connection with several of the Indian provinces have very far-reaching results on mission work. Taking the Patna University scheme as an example, it is at once seen that it will not be possible in the future for any missionary college outside of the University area to take that part in higher education which has hitherto been open to them. No affiliated College will be allowed to teach for honours in the B.A. degree. All teaching of science above the intermediate standard

process will be completed by the shutting down of private and mission schools. This tendency has become a definite policy in Korea. It is gaining increased impetus in western countries, in spite of much discussion to the contrary.[1] The missionary societies have to look forward to the day when they will be no longer permitted to conduct education.

The immediate difficulty is that of the "conscience clause." But it should not create undue alarm. The value of the mission schools will remain if they choose to continue working with a "conscience clause" in force, and even if the "conscience clause" develops into the definite removal of religious instruction from the curriculum. The schools will still provide, in a less or greater degree, according to the character of the staff, that Christian atmosphere which Mr. Matthai has emphasized as the chief asset in the spread of Christianity through the schools.

If the day should come when the missionary bodies are prevented from conducting educational work the opportunity will still be open to Christian men to serve on the staff of the Government schools, and so to continue in a measure their work of which the chief value lies not in the actual teaching of religion, but in the creation of a religious atmosphere.[2] But it will probably be found more worth while to concentrate upon the directly spiritual activities of the Church, to the exclusion of auxiliary agencies such as education and medical missions. The tendency throughout the east is for the Government to undertake the work of conducting or supervising all activities, such as education and medicine, which concern the material welfare of the people. The war will quicken this process. The call

is to be confined to the University. Either the Mission College must be granted a place within the University area, or else Missions will be excluded from the work which they have hitherto done to the great advantage of the Indian students. I believe this has been recognized by the Committee which has drafted the scheme for the University of Patna, and it only remains for our Missionary Societies to make the necessary provision for the adequate staffing of a College within the University precincts" (*S.P.G. Report*, 1914, pp. 53, 54).

[1] The Scotch Education Bill provides for the absorption of denominational schools by the State, although a promise has been given that the clergy are to be allowed right of entry into those-schools.

[2] In the *S.P.G. Report* for 1915, p. 47, Canon Rivington speaks of the good work being done by ten Christian missionaries in the municipal school where religious instruction is not allowed.

will therefore be more incumbent than before upon the Churches to give of their best to evangelistic work, to provide spiritual men, whether European or Oriental, who by the manifestation of a Christian life and the pursuit of a Christian way, will be able to assist men and women who are already pre-disposed to instruction and influence, by the experience of life.

Nothing in this discussion is to be interpreted to imply that good work in the cause of religion has not been done in the mission schools. But where boys or students have been brought under the influence of Christianity the result has been achieved by the personality and religious devotion of the staff and individual students, rather than by the process of instruction, and this might have been produced equally well in a school where religion did not form part of the educational system.[1]

Nor is it suggested that Sunday-school work should cease. It is true that the criticism of religious *teaching* in day schools applies also in the case of Sunday schools. But in the Sunday school the results of *teaching* are less barren just because the religious atmosphere is more real than is possible in the case of the day school. This is especially true if the Sunday school meets in church, and if the instructors are the clergy. It is not suggested that the clergy are necessarily or generally more spiritually minded men than many lay people, but to the mind of the child they do connote an atmosphere of religion by virtue of their office alone.

[1] The Church Missionary Society have already considered the question of a partial withdrawal from educational work in India. Cf. *The Church Missionary Review*, May, 1917, p. 243.

INDIA: THE WORK OF THE MISSIONS

IT is necessary to distinguish between immediate and permanent, or present and future effects of the war upon missions. It is obvious that a colossal war which has absorbed the attention and energy of the most important section of civilized mankind, and diverted the interest of the whole world to itself, cannot but exert its influence upon all forms of enterprise in countries distant from the conflict, and especially if such enterprise is conducted from European or American centres. At the same time it is clear that some of the effects will be merely passing—the mechanical agitation of distant areas, disturbed by the displacement of forces at home. Other effects will reveal themselves in the form of a permanent change of conditions, of outlook, of thought in the sphere of Oriental life, amounting to a transference of certain original elements of the upheaval at home. To this extent the war is embracing the whole world within its sphere of activity. So far as the work in India is concerned, the latter aspect has been discussed in two preceding chapters. The demand for more political freedom will result in a permanent change of the conditions which form the field of missionary enterprise. But a certain view of the question, on what may be called its interior aspect, remains to be discussed—the direct effects of the political movement upon the life of the native Indian Church.

Two questions have to be examined, both related to the actual enterprise of missions, and the future of the native Church—the effects of the war upon direct missionary enterprise, and the permanent change wrought in the attitude and condition of the Indian Church. The first of these effects should prove to be only temporary, or permanent merely in the sense that they demand a readjustment of home relations to restore the efficiency and effectiveness of the missions. The second will prove to be unchangeable and permanent, and

will demand a complete alteration of policy on the part of the home Church and the missionary bodies.

It is obvious that the influence of the war has been exerted firstly upon the finances of the missions. In the case of nearly every mission, whether European or American, operating in the field, shortage of funds in some form or another has been experienced. Valiant efforts have been made by the home Churches to maintain the supply of funds for the work abroad, and indeed the balance-sheets of the missionary societies show that to a large extent the effort has been successful. But the attempt to maintain the financial stability of the missions has been partly counteracted by changes in the value of silver, and by a great enhancement in the cost of all the necessaries of life, as well as the apparatus needed for missionary enterprise. To some extent this deficiency was made good by the fact that the American missions gained by the appreciation in the value of the dollar, but since America declared war this measure of relief has begun to disappear in the general depreciation of currency which all the combatant countries have to face.

In the mission-field not only has projected work been abandoned, but in some cases parts of the field already occupied have been denuded of supplies, with the result that progress has been checked, and the work in some quarters has declined. Moreover, the payment of certain grants which had been promised by the Government for educational work has been postponed,[1] and they may not be paid, even when the war is finished. The native contributions have also been reduced in some cases, not from any change of interest in the work, but because the economical and industrial conditions of the country have been adversely affected by the war.

So early as the close of 1914, unemployment caused by the war was felt in the Church Missionary Society's theatre at Ootacamund in the Nilgiri Hills.[2] In the Dummagudeen district of the Telugu country four hundred lace-workers were thrown out of employment for some weeks.[3] In Tinnevelly the poverty of the native Christians was made worse by lack of work from the same cause.[4] The London Mis-

[1] *International Review of Missions*, Jan., 1916, p. 38. *L.M.S. Report*, 1915, p. 13.

[2] *C.M.S. Report*, 1914–15, p. 155. [3] Ibid., p. 157. [4] Ibid., p. 158.

sionary Society reported that although there was no scarcity of food, the price of grain had in 1914 risen to that of the famine year, 1896, in the Benares district, and the cost of labour had increased proportionately.[1] At Erode there was a movement of the people away from the district, in order to seek work on the Government estates.[2] In the Dooars district of the Punjab, the Church of Scotland mission reported a falling away in church contributions, owing to distress in the jute industry.[3] The Wesleyan mission had to face difficulties caused by slackness in the plumbago works in the southern part of Ceylon,[4] while the ravages of the *Emden*, and the increase in prices interfered with its work in the northern half of the island.[5] The rise in prices was still felt in Ceylon two years later (1916),[6] and in the Madras district the people had been compelled to reduce the number of their daily meals and the price of clothes had gone up.[7] Similar hardships were being faced around Lucknow.[8]

At the same time in one or two of these cases, and in several other districts the contributions of the native Christians have been maintained, and in some instances increased, in spite of war stringency. This fact tends to prove the contention already offered, that some of the effects of the war will not be permanent. From another point of view it marks a development which there is every reason to hope will be permanent—the increase of interest on the part of the native community in the affairs of their own church, and an attempt to make it self-supporting.[9] It is this fact also which encourages the opinion that the decline in the support of the home church will be made up from native sources. Thus the question of financial stringency in the missions, and the effect of the war upon mission finance promise to be only transitory in their influence.

A more serious influence affecting the working of the missions has been the removal of missionaries from the field. This has

[1] *L.M.S. Report*, 1915, p. 58. [2] Ibid., p. 117.
[3] *Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Report*, 1914, p. 59.
[4] *W.M.M.S. Report*, 1915, p. 55. [5] Ibid., p. 65.
[6] *W.M.M.S. Report*, 1917, p. 44.
[7] *W.M.M.S. Report*, 1917, p. 53. [8] Ibid., p. 77. [9] Cf. Infra, pp. 48–62. It should also be mentioned, to the credit of the European missionaries that in some cases they have consented to a reduction of salary, in order to meet financial deficits.

taken several forms. Missionaries who returned home on furlough have not been in all cases sent out again, and frequently their work has been hindered because no other Europeans could be sent out as substitutes. Many of the missionaries have enlisted as chaplains, or surgeons, or have taken up other forms of war-work. In some cases the work in outlying districts has been closed down through the transfer of missionaries to fill the gaps in large centres. With a few exceptions, no new recruits have been sent out, either to replace those who have died, or to extend the work in favourable quarters. Several missionaries who were returning on furlough, or travelling to the zones of war have been drowned at sea through submarine action.

But in many of these instances the deficiency in personnel has been made up by the growing enterprise of native evangelists, teachers and catechists, as well as the native ministry, and an opportunity has been created for the expansion of native effort which has long been one of the urgent necessities of the mission-field. So that in this matter also, the need of the moment promises to be the means of creating a permanent phase of advancement in missionary enterprise. The present effects of the war are bad, its future effects promise to be good.

Of more serious importance has been the internment of the German missionaries, and the recall of many of the French Roman Catholic missionaries to the seat of war. Up to the middle of 1915 only 115 German missionaries were interned at Ahmednagar, 70 were placed under civil supervision in one centre, while 442 were left at liberty on parole. But a few weeks later all, save the men of military age interned at Ahmednagar, were repatriated.[1] The effect of this order, together with the depletion on the staffs of the British Societies, was that some 600 missionaries were withdrawn from the field in India. The work has not been allowed to go entirely to pieces. The Anglican Bishop of Chota Nagpur has taken over the German mission at the invitation of the Government. This charge includes the supervision of 308 schools (including 52 boarding schools) and 477 Indian workers. The Bishop is being assisted by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and by the Church Missionary Society, and the Government

[1] *International Review of Missions*, 1916, p. 36.

has made a grant of Rs 3,000 a month to assist in the maintenance of the schools.[1] The Leipzig Mission has been placed under the care of the Swedish Church Mission, assisted by the London Missionary Society. The American Lutherans are working the Schleswig-Holstein and Hermannsburg missions, and the Basel Mission is being maintained by a few of its former staff who are of Swiss nationality.[2] It is quite evident that the demands made by these different enterprises upon the Societies which have taken them over, are bound to interfere with the work in other quarters. It is possible that the German missionaries will not be allowed to return, and in this case the financial support from Germany will also be lost. It is unnecessary to discuss the question of the complicity of the German missionaries in the political schemes of the German Government.[3] Whether they were parties to such machinations or not, the fact remains that British and American clergy and missionaries have been diverted, through the war, from their own work, to look after that of the German missionaries, and this change may be permanent.

In the case of the French Roman Catholics there is no reason to suppose that they will not return to the field of their labours when the war ends. But shortage of men and funds in France and Italy will probably seriously affect their work. At the same time the College of Missions at Rome, which controls the whole of Catholic enterprise in the mission-field, may also find means, with that pertinacity and efficiency which the Roman Church always reveals in these matters, to meet the deficiency.

With the exception of the disturbance of trade and industry in some places, and the inevitable rise in prices and cost of living, the immediate effects of the war, so far as they have been injurious, have been confined to the European personnel of the missions. But there are signs—though no more than signs—of more serious effects in the attitude of educated Indians in different places. The educated classes of India have always been divided on the question of missions. The politicians and political agitators have opposed the spread of Christianity without qualification. On the other hand, many of the

[1] *Church Missionary Society's Report*, 1915–16, p. 82.
[2] *International Review of Missions*, p. 37.
[3] Cf. *The Pioneer Mail*, June 7, 1918.

landowning classes have been content to see the work go on, because they have realized that even a "foreign religion" is more beneficial to the country people than some of the debased forms of Hinduism and Animism in vogue in the agricultural centres. But the war has provided a new argument of criticism in some quarters. In the Telugu country, a district formerly easily accessible to the missionary, the Church Missionary Society reports that preaching in the bazaars is being met with the reproach that the war has disproved the claims of Christianity.[1] In a country village of the Madras presidency, while addressing an assembly of outcastes, a Church of Scotland missionary was challenged by a caste man who had come to stir up opposition, not to speak about Christianity, since "all the Christians are killing one another, and Hinduism will outlast it yet."[2] In Rajputana the United Free Church of Scotland Mission was met with the retort "Is this all Christianity has done for the countries of Europe?"[3] The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society reports that in Mysore its agents have been met with the question "Where is now your Jesus in this war?"[4] In Madras the missionaries have been challenged to explain their message in view of the war,[5] while in Bengal the moral problem has been concisely stated by asking how it is that British and Germans who work side by side in India, and baptize Indians into a religion claiming to be that of love, are in Europe slaying each other by tens of thousands?[6] A similar attitude was discovered by the Church of Scotland missionaries in Chamba.[7]

In addition to open opposition the missionaries of different societies have been called upon to counteract the influence of wild rumours and false reports of the war which spread even into the country districts. The career of the *Emden*, and especially the bombardment of Madras, gave colour to reports that the Germans were coming to India by aeroplane. On one occasion the rumbling of an earthquake was interpreted as the sound of the approach of a German army. But as a rule the

[1] *C.M.S. Report*, 1914–15, p. 155.
[2] *Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Report*, 1915, p. 27.
[3] *Report on Foreign Missions*, 1915, p. 23. [4] *W.M.M.S.*, 1917, p. 50.
[5] *W.M.M.S.*, 1917, p. 54. [6] Ibid., p. 73.
[7] *Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Report*, 1915, p. 37.

missionaries had no difficulty in removing the popular fears by giving simple lectures on the course of the war, and by the aid of the magic-lantern.

Indeed, although the reports of hostility and criticism created by war seem to show that the early misgivings of some supporters of foreign missions are being justified, information from many other quarters proves that the great majority of the population have not been disturbed in this way. Canon Fisher of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Lucknow said, in 1916, that after two years of war there was no appreciable hindrance experienced by the work. The people had not realized the fact of the war, and there was no sign of any criticism of Christianity.[1] A similar report comes from the Church Missionary Society. "The fact that but few references to the war appear in the annual letters of the C.M.S. missionaries, save in connection with gifts to relief funds and the like, indicates that for some reason or another the waging of so sanguinary a conflict has not aroused in the minds of the people of India any doubts as to the nature of Christianity which are not susceptible of easy removal."[2] At St. John's College, Agra, a boy remarked, "Germany is bullying Belgium, and of course England steps in to stop it." The safest conclusion possible has already been expressed by one Hindu student who said, "it is not Christianity or Christ that has failed but Christian nations who have failed to follow Christ."[3] The London Missionary Society admits that in some quarters "the scandal is undoubtedly great," but it points out that "a good deal of Indian teaching is prepared to blur moral distinctions, and is therefore not best fitted to appreciate the motives of righteousness but for which the members of the Church in Britain would never have consented to our participation in the war."[4] On the other hand when the Christian moral law has been taught, the native Christians are fully able to appreciate the motives which moved Great Britain to enter the war, and approval of Britain will react in favour of Christianity. Others are beginning to realize that civilization, apart from a gospel of love, will always be subject to these outbursts of national rivalry. In the same way another Wesleyan Methodist

[1] *S.P.G. Report*, 1916, p. 39.
[2] *C.M.S. Report*, 1915–16, p. 82.
[3] *C.M.S. Gazette*, April, 1916.
[4] *L.M.S. Report*, 1915, p. 15.

missionary in Mysore, says that the war has not created "a single note of discord," and in spite of the prevalence of wild rumours of the approach of a German army.[1]

It will be observed that in the main the English Societies report the absence of difficulty created by the war, whereas the Scottish Societies[2] have experienced some hindrance. The explanation seems to be that most of the Scottish societies are working in urban centres, and chiefly in schools and colleges, where independent thought and criticism are more likely to appear than in the country districts where the greater part of the work conducted by the English societies is carried on.

The real test of the matter lies in the fact whether or not the work of the missions has been hindered, so far as expansion is concerned. The Reports of the S.P.G., C.M.S., the Baptist Missionary Society and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, contain here and there definite statements to the effect that the work has not been hindered, or hindered far less than was anticipated. But the matter seems to be completely settled by the statistical abstract of the missions. In each case progress is shown. The figures include the total native Christian constituency attached to each mission. No statistics are supplied by the S.P.G.

	1913.	1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.
Church Missionary Society	230,876	235,666	244,977	252,375	262,272
London Missionary Society	123,855	126,101	128,121	137,010	134,270
The Baptist Missionary Society	33,451	32,846	34,441	35,431	37,192
The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.	52,012	52,894	58,253	57,645	62,436
The Church of Scotland Mission . .	19,596	21,095	22,131	23,456	24,046
The United Free Church Mission .	12,545	12,958	13,749	14,214	14,060

Throughout the period of the war the definite advance which has been marked for some time past has been maintained, with certain small fluctuations due to local influences. The expansion has taken place mainly in the areas where the mass

[1] *W.M.M.S. Report*, 1915, p. 93.

[2] But some of the Scottish missionaries report no hindrance.

movements are in progress. In Madras and in certain parts of northern India the country people, and especially the outcastes and lower-caste Hindus, continue to be converted to Christianity at the rate of thousands each year. This movement does not take the form of the indiscriminate conversion of masses of people in any given area. It usually commences with the conversion of a village head-man or some person of consequence, who, after a time, brings over the whole of his caste or the whole village to the Christian faith. Thus, sometimes it may be long before the process is complete in any village, even though the individual or individuals who are influencing it have been converted. The mass movements constitute an orderly advance of the village people towards Christianity, operating through the constitution of village life. That solidarity which was formerly regarded as a hindrance to the spread of the Gospel has been proved to be its most successful instrument in these latter days.[1]

During the year 1914–1915 the American Methodist Episcopal Mission baptized 30,000 converts in the mass movement areas in North, West, and South India. Other applicants for baptism, to the number of 40,000, were refused, while 150,000 inquirers were registered by the mission.[2] In 1916 the mission issued an appeal for 100 new missionaries to deal with the work.[3] The Church Missionary Society estimated that its area in the United Provinces required the presence of 100 new trained elementary teachers, 50 catechists, and 20 pastors.[4] In 1915 the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society reported 2,719 baptisms in Haidarabad district, including sixty Sudras, and one Brahman. Other caste people are waiting to be received into the Church.[5] In the following year the number of baptisms reached 3,105. The Wesleyan community has grown from 837 converts in 1889 to 5,169 in 1899. In 1909 the numbers had reached 12,731, and by 1916 the total was 25,853.[6] During 1917 the baptisms recorded by this Mission reached 1,000 a month.[7]

[1] But see previous chapter on the question of caste.
[2] *International Review of Missions*, Jan., 1916, p. 44.
[3] *International Review of Missions*, Jan., 1917, p. 32.
[4] *Church Missionary Review*, May, 1916.
[5] *W.M.M.S. Report*, 1916, p. 75. [6] *W.M.M.S. Report*, 1917, p. 61.
[7] *International Review of Missions*, Jan., 1918, p. 33.

There are no signs of abatement in the movement towards Christianity in these areas. The process of absorption is only limited by the capacity of the Church to train the Catechumens, and to educate the baptized community. To this extent the war does represent a serious check. At a time when every available recruit, and increased grants should be sent to the mass movement areas, the home boards are compelled to retrench. Another drawback is the lack of suitable men to train the baptized community, but although this lack has been largely accentuated by the war, it would have been felt if normal conditions had been maintained.[1]

The evidence of the statistics proves conclusively that the withdrawal of missionaries from the field and retrenchment in supplies have not hindered the growth of the Christian community. Moreover, if there are signs that Christianity will have to meet with more criticism in the future on account of the war, this does not appear to have affected the rate of progress of the missions. Doubtless if more men and money had been forthcoming the results would have been even greater, but the statistics show that Indian Missions have reached that stage where dependence on the home Churches is not of vital importance for the enterprise. The war has fostered the spirit of self-reliance, self-support, and independent activity on the part of the native Christians. To this fact must be attributed a large amount of the success reported. It constitutes what will be a permanent effect of the war, but an effect which is entirely beneficial in promise. The hindrance created by difficulties at the home base may never be removed, money and men may, after the war, be diverted into other channels. But this hindrance will be more than counterbalanced by the assumption of responsibility on the part of the Indian Church.

There can be little doubt that this development has been partly influenced by the growth of the national spirit called

[1] Cf. a powerful appeal on behalf of education in the mass movement areas by the Bishop of Madras—*International Review of Missions*, April, 1917. For further progress in the different fields cf. *S.P.G. Report*, 1915, p. 42. *C.M.S. Report*, 1914–15, pp. 102, 109; 1915–16, p. 152. *B.M.S. Report*, 1916, p. 35; 1917, p. 13. *W.M.M.S. Report*, 1915, pp. 82–3; 1916, pp. 60, 66; 1917, pp. 40, 54, 66 ff. *Church of Scotland Mission's Report*, 1914, p. 9; 1915, pp. 9, 48; 1916, pp. 7, 36. *United Free Church Mission's Report*, 1917, p. 8; 1918, p. 26.

forth by the war and which is expressing itself in other quarters in the form of a violent political propaganda. If there was any life and reality in the native Christian community it was inevitable that the same tendency should manifest itself in its ranks. Schemes of development along the lines of native independence in Church matters, and native enterprise in missionary activity, were in existence before the war. In 1916 the National Missionary Society[1] of India published its first decennial report. This Society is managed and financed entirely by Indians. It possesses thirty workers who operate in six different language areas. The Christian community numbers more than 1,200. Its income has risen from Rs. 3,500 in 1906 to Rs. 19,000 in 1915.[2]

The awakening of responsibility in the ranks of the Indian Christians has been especially marked in the evangelistic campaign conducted during 1915, 1916, and 1917. This movement was an effort to secure results similar to those achieved by the evangelistic campaigns in Japan and China. It was inaugurated in South India under the auspices of the South Indian United Church. Although European Missionaries planned the enterprise and assisted with the arrangements, the work which has been done, and the large measure of success achieved have been performed by the Indian Native Church.

The first meetings took place in September 1915 and consisted of a week of simultaneous evangelism in 3,814 towns and villages in the Tamil country. A body of workers had been trained during the summer, and 8,288 Christians, chiefly Indian, conducted the campaign among some 300,000 people. In Madras city alone, 330 Christian women worked amongst 3,400 Hindu women. Over 6,300 men and women professed a desire to be followers of Christ, 8,500 were enrolled as inquirers or students of the Gospel.[3] In Travancore 40,000 Syrian Christians attended the meetings, and at Tiruvella one of the meetings gathered together 17,000 people in the open rice fields.[4]

The initial effort was followed by the meeting of the General

[1] Founded in 1905.

[2] *International Review of Missions*, Jan., 1917, p. 37.

[3] *International Review of Missions*, Jan., 1916, p. 40; April, 1916, p. 271.

[4] Ibid., p. 269. Nothing like this has been recorded in the West since the days of John Wesley.

Assembly of the Presbyterian Church at Vellore in October, when it was decided to continue the campaign in subsequent years. But the ground was not allowed to lie fallow during the interval. Mr. Sherwood Eddy began a series of meetings both in South and North India, during the autumn of 1915. This campaign attempted to reach the upper and middle classes of the cities. It was commenced at Madras, Vellore and Palamcottah. The method of procedure included the training of about a hundred Christian workers for each city. Each Christian got into acquaintance with ten Hindus, who were visited, and invited to the meetings, and supplied with carefully selected Christian literature, of a non-controversial character. The Indian Christians erected a large mat shed (pandae) at their own expense, to contain 3,000 people. Preliminary meetings were held, consisting of lectures and services of song, in order to accustom the Hindus to the conditions, and during the four meetings of the campaign some 3,000 Hindus of the upper and middle classes attended. After the address on the third night about 2,000 remained behind for an after-meeting, and several hundreds gave in their names as inquirers, and expressed willingness to join Bible classes. But definite conversions were not so many as in the villages. About 1,000 Hindu women attended the meetings in a separate building, but although some were convinced they naturally shrank from the hostility which the caste system manifests when a Hindu is baptized.[1] In Vellore about 1,500 Hindus attended the meetings, and 2,500 on each night at Palamcottah.[2]

From the south Mr. Eddy passed to Lahore, Agra, and Lucknow, where meetings were held for Hindu and Muhammadan students. The audiences began with an average of nearly 1,000 non-Christian students, but these were deliberately sifted down to about 300 in order to secure definite results, and although no general conversion began, such as has been experienced among the village people, or among the students of China, there were days when numbers of men came for personal interviews, and remained for discussion far into the night. Several Brahman students were baptized. In one case a leading

[1] Cf. A powerful novel by F. E. Penny: *The Outcaste* (1912).
[2] *International Review of Missions*, April, 1916, pp. 272, 273.

Indian athlete, who was nominally a Christian, became definitely influenced and began to attract his non-Christian friends. He brought the whole of the hockey team to the meetings, and then some of the football team. He has become the leader of a group of young men whose purpose is to continue this individual work among non-Christians. In another city twenty Bible classes were started for non-Christian students, and in many places the whole staff of a Christian college, or a company of students in the city have organized themselves to carry on the work by personal endeavour.[1]

The evangelistic campaign was continued in October 1916. Emphasis was laid not primarily upon securing large meetings but upon stirring the native Christians to a sense of responsibility towards the non-Christians around them. In some of the country districts of the South nearly all the native Christians were engaged in the campaign. In Travancore a band of young men secured the conversion of two villages with a population of over 700. In the north in the rural district of Bengal a two-months campaign was followed by 500 baptisms.[2]

During 1917 the Presbyterian Church held a series of evangelistic meetings in western, central, and northern India in the month of February. Over 3,000 voluntary workers took part in the campaign, with striking results.[3] In south India the work was continued in September. Besides the activity in the villages, the work begun by Mr. Sherwood Eddy among the middle classes of the towns was continued, especially at Madura, Arcot, and Madras.[4]

The greater part of this striking enterprise is the achievement of native Christians. They are carefully prepared beforehand. Native methods are adopted as far as possible. One Indian worker has adopted the rôle and method of the guru. The room in which he conducts meetings is furnished only with mats on the floor. When services are not going on he sits there all day and night receiving callers. Christian workers are given instruction and are then sent out to practise. They then return and discuss any difficulties which have been experienced. Non-

[1] *International Review of Missions*, April, 1916, p. 274.
[2] *International Review of Missions*, Jan., 1917, p. 30.
[3] These results were not to hand when the text was written.
[4] *The International Review of Missions*, Jan., 1918, p. 29.

Christians are free to come for the discussion of religious difficulties. In some cases the disciples are sent out two by two, for a certain period, depending for their maintenance upon the gifts supplied by those among whom they preach. In these new methods native music plays a large part. It is being successfully used all over India. In south India the work of a Tamil preacher and singer has been followed by the formation of an Indian Christian Musical Association.[1] Another feature is the active intervention of women in the campaign. In Madras there is a special centre for women's work, from which they go out to evangelize Hindu women. Special literature has been published consisting of books for Church workers in English and the vernaculars, including subject matter for Bible-study classes and topics for addresses, and information on evangelistic methods and personal work. There are also books in English and the vernaculars for non-Christian inquirers.[2]

The awakening of a sense of Indian responsibility is not confined to the special efforts of the evangelistic campaign. The different missions report the same feature from different parts of the field. In some cases they attribute it definitely to the effect of the war upon the mission staffs. The native Christians have realized the necessity for greater activity on their part. In Madras a C.M.S. missionary reported that the war had created a new attitude among the native Christians, which had been made use of for missionary purposes. Fifty well educated people were divided into six groups and made responsible for missionary work in six different spheres.[3] The same tendency to demand and accept responsibility has been observed in all parts of the London Missionary Society's sphere,[4] the war has made the people " more anxious and thoughtful."[5] The Baptist Mission reports that the Indians are " doing more for self-propagation."[6] The Wesleyans have noticed the same tendency, the war has made the native Church realize that dependence upon other people does not produce competence

[1] *International Review of Missions*, Jan., 1916, p. 31.
[2] *International Review of Missions*, Jan, 1915, p. 29.
[3] *C.M.S. Report*, 1914–15, p. 154.
[4] *L.M.S. Report*, 1915, p. 14; 1916, p. 7. [5] Ibid, p. 65.
[6] *B.M.S. Report*, 1917, p. 15.

or security,[1] year by year, the Indian Church is "taking a larger share in the evangelization of the country."[2]

A second feature in the growth of independence in the Indian Churches is the development in self-support. When compared with Japan, the contributions of Indian Christians appear to be on a smaller scale. But the financial support of the native Churches is affected by the distribution of the Christian population. In Japan a large number of prosperous townspeople are able to give increasing financial assistance to the missions. In India the Christian constituency exists mainly in the country districts where the people are poor, and where their incomes have in many places been adversely affected by the war. Moreover, although India has had a certain measure of war prosperity, even her financial magnates have not been able to reap the enormous profits which have fallen to Japanese business men. But the principle of self-support is being yearly more widely recognized by the native Church. The financial difficulty imposed upon the missions by the war cannot but impress upon it more strongly than ever the necessity of making their work as self-supporting as possible. Although some of the missions have reported a decline in native contributions, in other cases the reverse has been experienced. In spite of high prices, small wages, and the demands of different war funds, the contributions to the missions have in many cases been kept up, and in some cases increased.[3]

There are also signs of an attempt to conduct the finances of the Church on methodical lines. In some cases the members are assessed at a certain sum per head,[4] in other cases a collecting box is regularly sent round,[5] in others the Christians are encouraged to contribute a certain proportion of their income.[6] In addition, the regular collections in the churches are being maintained.[7]

[1] *W.M.M.S. Report*, 1915, p. 76; 1916, p. 76.
[2] *W.M.M.S. Report*, 1917, pp. 50, 51.
[3] *S.P.G. Report*, 1914, p. 59; 1915, p. 44. *L.M.S. Report*, 1916, p. 70. *W.M.M.S. Report*, 1917, pp. 58–72. *Church of Scotland Missionary Report*, 1914, p. 33.
[4] *S.P.G. Report*, 1915, p. 45. *C.M.S. Report*, 1916–17, p. 70.
[5] *L.M.S. Report*, 1916, p. 32.
[6] *S.P.G. Report*, 1915, p. 46. *L.M.S. Report*, 1916, p. 31.
[7] *S.P.G. Report*, 1915, p. 51.

Many of the individual reports sent to the headquarters of the missions at home speak of development in self-support. To what extent this process can be maintained will depend in part upon the growth of the material prosperity of the country. Since the war began India's favourable trade balance has been increased from £29,108,500 in 1915–1916, to £60,820,000 in 1916–1917.[1] Some of the German markets have been secured; the export trade to Great Britain has increased by over £7,000,000; to Japan by over £5,000,000; to France by more than £3,000,000; to the United States by £6,750,000; and to Italy by £500,000. The prosperity of Indian Finance is emphasized by the fact that not until 1916–1917 was it found necessary to increase pre-war taxation; moreover, India's contribution to the War Funds, apart from private subscriptions to War Charities was £100,000,000, or nearly twice the amount of the Imperial pre-war revenue.[2]

It is true that the greater proportion of the new prosperity is due to war-trade, that is, to the supply of materials needed in the war areas, such as raw cotton, hides and skins (including leather) oil-seeds, jute, and food grains, iron and steel.[3]

But the prospects for the continued prosperity of Indian trade and manufactures are considerable. There is ample scope for mineral production when other industries expand sufficiently to create a demand for the by-products upon which the production of minerals depends. By this means too, money which is now going abroad, to pay for by-products will be retained in the country. Indian Manganese ore should be able to compete easily with Russian and Brazilian ores. Its hard lump form makes it more suitable for the blast furnaces, and it is selected with more care before being exported to the steel manufacturers. Monazite is another Brazilian mineral which India should be able to supply. It is used to produce thorium nitrate for the manufacture of gas mantles. Until Monazite was discovered in Travancore, the world's trade was supplied by Brazil. India provides one half of the world's supplies of Mica. The chief Inspector of Mines in India has said that the output can be greatly increased, without extra

[1] *Times Annual Financial and Commercial Review*, Jan. 22, 1918.

[2] Ibid. Cf. also *Times Trade Supplement*, Oct. 1918, and *Pioneer Mail*, Nov. 22, 1918.

[3] F. H. Brown: *Times Trade Supplement* (Feb., 1918).

cost and labour, by less wasteful methods of working. There is an opening for the manufacture of aluminium under certain conditions, which include the export of the pure oxide to Europe and America. The production of saltpetre is also capable of expansion. The coal-mining industry is steady, and depends for development only upon the progress of industries and railway enterprise. There are openings for increased trade in tanning, turpentine, oil and resin, and in the leather trade, in the lighter quality of hides which was formerly possessed by the Germans.[1]

By far the greatest promise for Indian industries is held out by the prospect of the development of hydro-electric power. Something has been done already at the Cauvery River, in Kashmere, at Bombay, and in the Himalayas, to make use of water-power, but an unlimited expansion of the enterprise can be undertaken if the water-falls of the Western Ghats, which are supplied by the heavy rains, are stored. Cheaper power than can now be obtained would be available for the working up of India's raw materials. The achievements of the Tata brothers[2] of Bombay in iron and steel production and now in hydro-electric power, show that Indian capital is large enough and capable enough of undertaking the enterprise. New industries would be attracted to the country.[3]

The Chairman of the Bengal-Nagpur railway stated at the last annual meeting of the company that the revolutionary changes which have come over Indian trade would be permanent, new markets had been opened which would not be shut down after the war; the foundations of new industries had been laid, but above all a new spirit of enterprise had been created.[4]

It may be added that the development of Indian commercial and industrial interests holds out the prospect of correcting the vision and ambitions of the educated classes of the towns, whose attention is taken up almost entirely by doctrinaire political schemes. The expansion of business and commercial prosperity should attract young men into industry and scientific investigation, and away from the B.A. classes and the law-

[1] *Times Trade Supplement*, Feb., and May, 1918.

[2] Cf. S. M. Mitra: *Indian Problems*.

[3] Lord Sydenham: *Times Trade Supplement* (Feb., 1918). Cf. *Times Trade Supplement* (April, 1918).

[4] F. W. Brown: *Times Trade Supplement* (Feb., 1918).

courts. The prospects afforded by industrial enterprise should quicken the interest in technical education. This has been neglected far too long for the well-being of India, and of many of her educated people.

To whatever extent the contributions of native Christians to missionary enterprise come from the urban populations, the future seems secure in the promise of permanent and expanding material prosperity. But India is mainly an agricultural country, and the larger part of the Christian community dwells in the agricultural centres, and works on the land. The most convincing sign that the rural members of the Church will maintain their support lies in the fact that the test imposed by the war in some centres has been fully met. In spite of financial and trade difficulties a large number of contributions have been continued. But there are other considerations which contribute towards the same conclusion. The prospects for the future of Indian agriculture are as bright as those for her industry and trade. It has been pointed out that there is ample room for the development of grain production, not only by continuing the process of improving indigenous methods of cultivation and reclaiming waste lands by irrigation, but by taking over for food products suitable land now used for the production of industrial crops.[1] In order to make up the supply for industrial purposes, substitutes can be cultivated and manufactured, as in the case of jute. The jute industry can be considerably developed by the use of substitutes, as well as by improved agricultural methods in the jute-growing areas.[2] The demand for Indian cotton is increasing. America tends to absorb more and more of her supply. Egyptian and African cotton are not able to make up the deficiency, although the prospects for the expansion of cotton growing in Africa seem almost unlimited.[3] Indian cotton has hitherto been unfavourably received on the Lancashire markets because of its short staple, but the cultivation of a long staple depends upon the prices offered to the Indian ryot by the merchants. The area under cultivation was 14 per cent. greater in 1916–1917 than in 1915–1916.[4]

[1] *The Times Trade Supplement* (Feb 1918). [2] Ibid.

[3] Cf. Reports of the British Cotton Growing Association in *West Africa* and the *African World.*

[4] *Times Trade Supplement*, Feb., and April, 1918.

Other branches of agricultural industry together with the products of forestry are awaiting development. The fortunes of India will always be bound up with the land. Any increase in productivity cannot but improve the internal conditions of the native peoples, and increase their capacity for self-support in the affairs of the Church. Moreover the native Church will be financed on more economical lines. The native pastor does not require the same stipend as the European missionary. He can live simply and inexpensively like the country people. Then, too, the church-building in most of the villages will be built on native lines, at much less expense than the stone and brick buildings now erected by the mission agents.

To the influence of the general improvement of industry and agriculture, and to the lower cost of maintaining the native Church, should be added the fact that many contributions, now being paid to Hindu temples will altogether cease, and so far as the Christians are concerned, this source of supply alone, in those areas where the native Christians are at all numerous, should almost suffice to meet the needs of a native pastorate.

But the man who does the work of evangelization, and pays for it, will expect to control it; consequently there exists in the native Church of India a growing demand for more and more independence. This tendency cannot but increase under the influence of the new conditions, and the new spirit of self-confidence, which are being manifested in the political and industrial world of India. Self-government, in whatever form it is granted, whether it consists of a substantial increase of Indian representation on the provincial legislative councils, together with less control by the central Government, or whether it takes the form only of a development of the Councils Act of 1909, must inevitably affect the aspiration of the native Church, which is even more largely permeated with western ideas. The process will be fostered in another direction. The removal of several hundred missionaries from the field has thrown a much greater burden of responsibility upon the native ministry and workers. This they are faithfully fulfilling. At the same time they are realizing their own capacity to manage their own affairs, and are gaining invaluable practical experience which will make it almost impossible that they should ever be content to fall back again under the tutelage of the mis-

sions, however beneficial and successful that may have been.

But there is no sign that the missions desire to check the process in any way. Before the war the home boards, as well as the men in the field, had realized that the complete evangelization of the Oriental peoples could only take place when the native Church assumed responsibility for the work, and steps were taken in order to encourage independence in the three spheres of self-propagation, self-support, and self-control, wherever possible. In no country has this tendency been more decided than in India, where in 1905, the foundation of the National Missionary Society, to be conducted solely by native Christians, foreshadowed what was coming.

From different parts of the field reports of progress in the assumption of self-control have continued to come in during the years of war. This process is operating in two directions. On the one hand the present organization of the churches, moulded mainly on European lines, and largely under the control of the Bishops or Presbyteries, or Councils which form the executive, according to the particular type of church government represented by the different missionary bodies, is being made more and more representative of native opinion. On the other hand, under the influence of a spirit similar to that which caused the creation of the National Missionary Society, there is a growing tendency to create native Churches *de novo*, though not always, or even generally under native auspices at the beginning. It is essential to maintain the distinction between the regular organization of the Church, especially in the Episcopal and Wesleyan spheres, and the organization of the missions. The former comprises the work of ministering to the white population in India, as well as officially supervising the native Church. The latter confines itself to the work of evangelization. In both spheres the same tendency to place more and more control in the hands of the native Christians is increasing. This somewhat confusing admixture of official and non-official enterprise is revealed, especially within the sphere of the Anglican Church in India. There is a regular division of the country into dioceses under the control of Bishops as in England. But the rank and file of the clergy consist of chaplains on the Indian establishment, who are officials of the civil service, nominated at home by an

Indian Chaplaincies Board, and stationed at permanent chaplaincies. Secondly, there are the military or regimental chaplains, attached to the different brigades or regiments, who move about with the troops, and are sent out to India by the Chaplain-General's Department of the War Office. They remain in India so long as their units are there, and while in the country are under the control of the diocesan authorities. Thirdly, there are the missionary clergy, who also are under the supervision of the bishops. The bishops and clergy on the Indian establishment are paid from the revenues of India; the military chaplains' stipends are chargeable upon the army; the missionary clergy are supported by the Missionary Societies.

The Presbyterian and Nonconformist bodies are also represented in these three spheres, though to a less well defined extent, since their numbers are smaller—except, of course, in the case of their missionaries—and the distinction between the regular and missionary organization is not so complete. But in all branches of the Church's activity in India, the same progress towards the extension of powers of self-government to native Christians is being maintained. At least one Indian bishop has been consecrated.

In the official Anglican Church the movement takes the form of the erection of Diocesan Councils on a representative basis. The Metropolitan of India and Ceylon reports that already eight of these councils are in existence—five of them were set up in 1916.[1] A larger scheme which had as its object the foundation of self-governing synods, was originally proposed, but it was abandoned, because of legal difficulties.[2] The councils consist of the bishops, priests and laity who sit together and vote together, but voting by orders, as in the Scottish diocesan councils, can be made use of if necessary.[3]

The American Episcopal Church has carried the process of native representation even farther. The organization of the church consists of Central, Annual and District Conferences. The Central Conference is a body of delegates, consisting of missionaries, native clergy and laymen, sent from all parts of

[1] *Tenth Annual Review of the Central Board of Missions.*

[2] *International Review of Missions*, Jan., 1916, p. 39.

[3] Cf. *The History of the Church Missionary Society*, Vol. IV. Eugene Stock, D.C.L., 1916, pp. 180–194.

the field, and representing all forms of the work. The policy of the missions is in the hands of this body. The Annual Conferences, which number seven, consist of missionaries and native clergy. In the larger Annual Conferences the proportion of native clergy to missionaries is five to one, which gives them an overwhelming majority. They possess exactly the same powers as the missionaries, and sit on all committees, including those of finance. The District Conferences, which are thirty in number, represent subdivisions of the area supervised by the Annual Conference. The members of the District Conferences are composed of the Superintendent of the District, who is either a missionary or a native clergyman; the heads of Circuits, a subdivision of the District, who are native clergymen, and, as a rule, members also of the Annual Conference; and the workers in the Circuit, who are usually laymen. The District Conference varies in numbers from one to two hundred members, of whom only one, or sometimes two, is a missionary.[1]

It is a noteworthy fact that the mass movement is producing the most numerous as well as the most permanent results in the field of the American Episcopal Church, where there seems to be a direct relation between successful missionary enterprise and the possession of a large measure of independence by the native Christians. The experience of the American Episcopal Missions justifies the main contentions in Mr. Hibbert-Ware's suggestions for strengthening the diocesan organization, and at the same time, handing over more power to the native ministry. Mr. Hibbert-Ware suggests that only by leaving to the Indian Church the work of consolidating the results of the missionaries' enterprise, can the mass movement be turned into a really effective opportunity for evangelization.[2]

Thus the policy of the official leaders of the Church is based upon devolution in favour of the Indian Church. Similar examples are forthcoming in the work of all the missionary bodies, who increasingly tend to recognize the local Churches on a self-governing basis. The policy was in operation before the war broke out,[3] but the reports of the missionaries show that

[1] Bishop Warne: *International Review of Missions*, April, 1917.

[2] G. Hibbert-Ware: *The East and West*, July, 1917.

[3] The first native Christian Bishop, the Rev. V. S. Azariah, was consecrated Bishop of Dornakal at Calcutta on December 30, 1912.

it has received considerable impetus during the last two or three years. The evangelistic campaign has developed the powers of native leadership. For the first time the Young Men's Christian Association is being controlled by an Indian Christian, during the temporary absence of Mr. E. C. Carter, the national secretary.[1]

The London Missionary Society reported that in 1915, "new evidences of the growing capacity of the Indian Christians to support and control Christian work" were to be found.[2] This development "will occupy yearly in each report an increasingly large space."[3] "The dominant note of the South Indian District Committee at present is one of self-retraction. The Indian Church must be led forward, the European missionary must retire behind the scenes."[4]

In the Agra district of the Baptist Mission the Indian Church in 1914, "assumed responsibility for its own affairs," and "for the first time in its history all its officers were Indian."[5] At Delhi "the chief feature of the year" (1914) was "the introduction of the principle of self-government and self-support."[6] The Indian Churches "are taking more interest in self-government and doing more for self-propagation."[7]

The Wesleyans report that in South India "the progress of our scheme of devolution, though slow, is a gratifying fact and full of deepest interest."[8] A year later they said that "self-propagation, self-government, self-support—these three form the trinity of ideals for the Indian Church. We cannot but remark on the growth of our people during the past year in the essential elements of Church life."[9] Again, "a universal desire is springing up in our Christian community to attain to the proud position of self-supporting circuits. Self-government is the goal, and self-support is the means to this end. . . . Perhaps to some extent it savours of the political, and is the result of the national awakening which has for some years been apparent throughout India; but it was bound to come, and, rightly guided, it will result in the developing of strength of

[1] *International Review of Missions*, Jan., 1917.
[2] *L.M.S. Report*, 1916, p. 7.
[3] Ibid., p. 32. [4] Ibid., p. 65. [5] *B.M.S. Report*, 1915, p. 77.
[6] Ibid., p. 87. [7] *B.M.S. Report*, 1917, p. 15.
[8] *W.M.M.S. Report*, 1915, p. 76. [9] *W.M.M.S. Report*, 1916, p. 76.

character and spiritual muscle."[1] "Christianity is becoming indigenous; the Indian Church is steadily developing towards the goal of self-support and self-government, and year by year is taking a larger share in the evangelization of the country."[2]

The importance of all this development towards self-government in Church affairs, for the national welfare, apart from religious and spiritual matters, lies in the training which is being given in the art of practical self-government in political matters. One of the great obstacles standing in the way of reform is the ignorance and inexperience of Indians in representative principles and functions. It is true that the village system possesses the elements of self-government, and the Government of India is alive to the fact, but far more adequate training is at present being provided by the church councils and synods than by any of the village councils. The whole machinery of representative government is in operation from the election of representatives to voting in the council and chairmanship of the same. The Christian Church is playing a most important part in training India for self-government. There is nothing new in this. Self-control in religious matters has always preceded self-control in political affairs, to such an extent that in western civilization in both Europe and America this development possesses the force of a law.

But there is one great hindrance operating in India, and indeed in every mission field, through the very instrumentality of this beneficent process, though not because of any inherent necessity. While the Churches are developing national unity by means of spreading the art of self-government, they are, at the same time, undoing their own work by introducing the sects.[3] In effect this amounts to a conservation of the cleavage which already divides up Indian society.

Owing to the peculiar nature of Indian society the sectarian divisions of the Church do more harm in India than elsewhere. It may be true that human nature demands different forms of worship and church government to suit different needs, but the present organization of Indian society makes it dangerous to encourage this tendency. On the other hand the sects constitute a phenomenon which has appeared late in the social and political development of western peoples. India

[1] *W.M.M.S. Report*, 1916, p. 87.

[2] *W.M.M.S. Report*, 1917, pp. 49, 50.

[3] Cf. supra, pp. 25–30.

has not even reached the stage when she needs these differences, even if it can be proved that they serve a useful purpose, so that the evil effects of sectarian missions are twofold. A great opportunity is open to Christianity to assist in healing the schisms of Indian life, but the Church is prevented from supplying the need by the schisms in her own body.

Yet something is being done to remedy the evil, and at least the Churches are aware of the evil effects of the sectarian system. The National Missionary Council possesses a committee on comity among missions dealing with such questions as arbitration, the division of church territory, and the transfer of mission agents and church members.[1] The Bishop of Assam reports that "rules of comity" have been drawn up between the Anglican Church and the Non-conformist missions to prevent friction. Two conferences were held in 1917.[2] Other reports contain similar references. The urgent need for some such policy is revealed in the annual report of the Baptist Mission for 1917.[3]

One of the lessons which the war is offering to the Churches is the demonstration of the need of unity in policy and enterprise and sympathy. It is an encouraging fact that reports from the mission field show that the war is drawing European and Indian together. The presence of British Territorial troops in India has been the means not only of enlightening the minds of numbers of Englishmen upon the aims and achievements of missionary work, but of creating a new sympathy between the two races. The results of this contact in increased interest and support for missions at home should be very marked, but the effects on the Indian mind, created by the interest of numbers of young Englishmen in the affairs of their Church life, cannot but create a favourable impression where other matters are concerned. The missionaries have not lost the opportunity of showing the troops as much as possible of their work.[4]

[1] *International Review of Missions*, April, 1916, pp. 308–314; Oct., 1916, pp. 655–657.

[2] *Official Year Book of the Church of England*, 1915, p. 249.

[3] *B.M.S. Report*, 1917, p. 15.

[4] *S.P.G. Report*, 1914, p. 61. *C.M.S. Report*, 1915–16, pp. 111, 112. *B.M.S. Report*, 1916, p. 33. *W.M.M.S. Report*, 1915, p. 111; 1917, pp. 51, 69. *United Free Church of Scotland Mission's Report*, 1918, p. 25.

A joint letter sent by Field-Marshals, Lords Roberts, Grenfell, and

A similar " rapprochement " has been witnessed in the attitude of the Indian troops who have returned from the west. They have been impressed by the kindly treatment received at the hands of people in the west, especially from the doctors and nurses. Moreover they have been visibly moved by the signs of care bestowed upon their families in their absence, especially by the missionaries.[1] The treatment meted out to war widows by the Government, has not only created a favourable impression among the people of India generally, but has been the means of raising the status, and effecting more kindly usage of these unfortunate girls and women at the hands of their fellow-Hindus.[2]

One final question remains to be considered. If the extremist politicians are successful in securing a full grant of their demands, either now or in the future, what will be their attitude to Christian missions ? It will probably be hostile, and if not outwardly, it may take the form of encouragement and suggestion offered to any hostile elements among the more fanatical sections of the native religious communities. It is possible that a repetition of what took place in China under the old Manchu government may be experienced in India. Without deliberately persecuting the Christians, the people may be surreptitiously stirred up into antagonism, or encouraged where no official suggestion was needed. But no such development is likely to arise if the people of India are allowed to form a free

Methuen, addressed to British officers serving abroad, spoke of missions in the following terms :—" You will almost certainly come into contact with the representatives of various Christian missionary societies, whose special work it is to show to non-Christian peoples the love of the Christ whom we profess to serve. We commend these missionaries to you as a body of men and women who are working helpfully with the Government, and contributing to the elevation of the people in a way impossible to official action. Some object to Christian missions in ignorance of their real value. We would suggest that you will use all opportunities of making yourselves personally acquainted with the work they are doing, and the churches of the converts. Most missions will bear looking into, and we are convinced that if you will do this, you will never afterwards condemn or belittle them." *The History of the Church Missionary Society*, Vol. IV. Eugene Stock, D.C.L., 1916, p. 599.

[1] *Church of Scotland Mission Report*, 1915, p. 32.

[2] I am indebted for this fact to some notes supplied by the S.P.G. for a lecture on " Work amongst women in India."

and unbiassed estimate of Christianity. One feature stands out most clearly in the religious aspect of India to-day. It is that India so far as religion is concerned, is a nation of seekers, and this because the gods of India have been proved to be either musing, or gone aside, or on a journey, or sleeping. The search for God in India never ceases. India is always tramping along the roads, over the hills and across the plains, or bathing in the sacred rivers, or worshipping at a thousand shrines, but never finding Him who satisfieth the hungry with good things. All this vague, undefined, unuttered, yet ever seeking spirituality presents a vast opportunity and a vast hope for Christianity, for when India makes an earnest trial of the Gospel the innate spirituality of her people cannot fail to be attracted by its lofty spirit, its majestic morality, its simple philosophy, and its practical combination in the supply of present needs as well as future hopes. And because the great majority of the people of India are quiet agricultural folk, the Catholic story of the Mother and the Child, the ox and the manger, the parables from sowing and reaping, and all the details of country life must present a compelling appeal in every Indian village. The story of the Young Guru who not only taught but worked miracles of healing cannot fail to influence a people to whom a teacher, if he is a "holy man," is a sacred personage, and to whom the menace of sickness and disease forms a constant shadow on the background of life. The story of the Cross must sooner or later gather round the Crucified a people which is so impressed with the claims of sacrifice, that its fakirs have surpassed the exercises of all Christian ascetics. The story of the Resurrection will supply that completion of faith, that explanation of the mystery of death, which no Indian religion has revealed though the people have groped after it for millenniums. To-day the signs are all favourable for the future, even if not for the immediate present, for is it not the country people who are crowding into the Christian Church through the avenues of the mass movements, who are voicing their claims to recognition side by side with the Congress-Muslim League? And it is the country people, the depressed classes, the outcastes, who are the real India.

JAPAN: DIRECT EFFECTS OF THE WAR

WHEN the war had been in progress for a few months critics of foreign missions said, "Now we shall be done with all this waste of men and money, and this wicked campaign to wean the people of the East from the religions which have given them comfort and hope for centuries." If Lafcadio Hearn had been living he might have said, "The utmost I will grant you, if missions are to be continued, is that they should be turned round, so that instead of crossing from Europe into Asia, the missionaries may go from Asia into Europe in order to convert the worldlings of the West from a religion which has not been able to prevent an Armageddon, to one or more of the ancient worships of the far East, which have never, in all their long history, won to their allegiance people who contrived a war on this scale." Such a conclusion was plausible, but sentimental. If the day has come when the supporters of missions must prove their case by producing facts, the antagonists of missions are under the same necessity. There is one thing which is much easier to say than "missions are good," it is "missions are bad."

But the antagonist of missions was not the only man who suspected that the day of foreign missions had closed. Among the supporters of the enterprise, there were not a few who said that the whole Christian campaign in the East was about to pass through a period of reverse, if not of permanent defeat. Moreover, this opinion was not confined to missionary circles at home, it became the living fear of enthusiasts engaged in the work abroad, and among them it was uttered not only by lonely workers, overborne by the burden of disheartening conditions in their own localities—a class of men who are always prone to predict general disaster on account of looking at a new trouble through the bedimmed spectacles of their own confined outlook—but it was uttered by men at the general

headquarters of the foreign campaign, by men who had all the facts of the field before them, who as a rule had more difficulty in realizing hindrances than successes, and this because their business was to sift the reports of achievements which came to them from all parts, and not to consider, in the first instance, the tale of local defeat, if ever it reached them. The reports of the Christian Movement in the Japanese Empire for 1915, 1916, and 1917 [1] record, here and there, the surprise of the editors and contributors that the war had *not* been accompanied by the set-back which they had anticipated. It is true that the East has scarcely had time to draw the correct inference from the war conditions in Europe, in their relation to Christianity. But in any attempt to estimate the conditions in the mission field full attention must be paid to the statistics and reports sent in by the missionaries. The following figures are concerned with Japan.

ADULT BAPTISMS.

1913	7,423
1914	9,168
1915	11,886
1916	10,861 (2)
1917	12,401

CHILDREN UNDER CHRISTIAN INSTRUCTION.

	Day Schools	Sunday Schools (2)
1914	17,843	127,792
1915	21,166	148,333
1916	30,795	150,496
1917	42,139	156,245

These statistics are taken from the charts supplied by the editors of the "Christian Movement in the Japanese Empire." They do not include the figures for the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Missions, which are not always forthcoming. The totals for children under Christian instruction include all children enrolled in mission schools and colleges. The majority of these are, of course, not baptized members of any of the Churches.

The impressive feature in the work, during the three war

[1] The same is true of the reports in the *Christian Movement* for 1918.
[2] This return is incomplete.
[3] Includes teachers.

years covered by the statistics, is the fact that so far from there having been any decrease in numbers upon the figures supplied for the years before the war, each return shows an unmistakable increase. This is the more remarkable from the fact that the number of foreign missionaries in Japan has declined since the war commenced. The decrease in the missionary personnel has been influenced by two factors. A certain number of workers have been withdrawn in order to take up war work at home or with the forces, and in some cases they have not been replaced; again, the home boards have not been able to send out recruits to take the place of those who have retired or died, or who have come home on furlough. On the other hand, the number of Japanese workers has increased, and to this fact must be attributed no small measure of the success of the National Evangelistic Campaign.

	Foreign Workers	Japanese Workers
1913	1,138	2,485
1914	1,028	2,252
1915	1,050	2,522
1916	1,084	2,861
1917	1,074	3,011

The most promising feature revealed by the statistics is the growth in the number of self-supporting Churches, and in the contributions of the Japanese Christians.

	Self-supporting Churches	Amount received for all purposes
1913	205	Yen.374,538
1914	230	475,594
1915	255	580,512
1916	244[1]	619,044
1917	269	669,887

[1] There were, in addition, 80 self-supporting Y.M.C.A. branches returned for this year.

The value of the charts supplied with the annual reports on the "Christian Movement in the Japanese Empire" is largely reduced by a lack of system in drawing up the statistics. It has been quite impossible to take out the figures for the total Christian constituency in Japan for the five years under review. Not only are there blanks in the returns of certain missions from time to time, but in some cases the figures for interdenominational missions are scheduled by themselves, in other cases they are reported in the returns of other missions, but without a very careful analysis this detail is not apparent. Moreover the charts for the same year do not always agree among themselves.

The verdict of the statistics is amply confirmed by the written reports which have come from Japan. Progress is reported with one or two exceptions in all branches of the work, and in the very few cases where no advancement can be recorded, there is nothing to suggest that the war is a cause of hindrance. The general impression created by a careful examination of the reports of 1915, 1916, and 1917 is that during the three war years under review the aggressive work of the missions has not been hindered by war conditions, on the contrary the schemes for advancement, planned before or since the war commenced, have succeeded in widening the interest of all classes of Japanese life in Christianity, and have added considerable numbers of converts to the Churches. The most hopeful reports come from the American missions. Thus the war prosperity of America has been reflected in her foreign mission work, but certain British societies are also able to point to three successful years, and in no case, except in the matter of finding new European recruits, do we read of work seriously hindered.

Up to the close of 1914 the war had "affected" the S.P.G. "but little."[1] During 1916 Bishop Foss reported that in the Osaka diocese the same mission had passed through a year of "steady and encouraging work."[2] The C.M.S. mission in Central Japan reported in 1915 that the war had "not affected the work adversely, and rather men's minds are open to spiritual influences." Baptisms in the churches and evangelistic

The statistics would be greatly improved if the titles of the different missions were retained unchanged from year to year, together with their index numbers on the chart. A detailed comparison would then be possible. There are frequent mistakes in the totals, besides printers' errors. But there has been a decided improvement since the faulty Chart of 1913 was issued. It is not possible to offer anything but commendation for the labour which has been put into these charts, but if less were attempted, and conducted on accurate and more scientific lines, their value would be greatly enhanced. Much of the difficulty is caused by the fact that certain missions make very indifferent returns, and in some years none at all, but this difficulty may be overcome in time. It may seem to be a waste of time to the overworked missionary to be asked to join in a statistical survey, but this little piece of extra labour is of infinite value to the cause of missions in the home countries.

[1] *Christian Movement*, 1915, p. 84. [2] *Christian Movement*, 1917, p. 51.

stations "have been up to the average of most years."[1] The Kinshu mission of the C.M.S., although being undermanned both in its foreign and native staff, reported that "encouragement has been given during the year (1914) in the remarkable accessibility to the people, and the wonderfully large attendances at public meetings, especially in the smaller towns. In several instances a simple advertisement has been quite sufficient to ensure a full hall, and the audience has remained to the very end of the meetings."[2] During 1915 and 1916 conditions in the C.M.S. field had "not changed materially during the year,"[3] and although the foreign personnel was reduced, no difficulty from lack of funds was experienced. In Central Japan the missionaries continued to find "a greater readiness of non-Christians" to listen to preaching.[4]

The Japan Evangelistic Band were "not unprepared for instructions to curtail expenses and operations" when war broke out. They have been "happily disappointed." No curtailment of expenses has been necessary.[5] At the close of 1915 they reported "some progress in all branches of their work in spite of war conditions."[6] During 1916 the Mission had "on the whole made gradual progress," invitations came "from all parts of the country" asking for resident evangelists, and for the services of special missioners. The Conventions and Missions were "carried on with much blessing in various parts."[7]

The bulk of the work in Japan is carried on by the American missions. The American Episcopal Mission in the diocese of Kyoto reported that evangelistic services during 1914 were unusually well attended, and "evangelistic preaching seems to have aroused more interest than usual." In 1915 there was "some progress along the various lines of work." In the diocese of Tokyo "the work holds its own and grows slowly."[8] There was "progress slow and steady we think in all lines of work; and on the part of the people in the country districts

[1] *Christian Movement*, 1915, p. 80. [2] Ibid., p. 81.
[3] *Christian Movement*, 1916, p. 68; 1917, p. 46.
[4] *Christian Movement*, 1916, p. 69.
[5] *Christian Movement*, 1915, p. 127.
[6] *Christian Movement*, 1916, p. 112. [7] Ibid., p. 10[illegible]
[8] *Christian Movement*, 1915, p. 77.

something more than a tolerance, even a real desire to know and maybe try Christianity."[1] In 1916 new evangelistic work was opened in "several places."[2] The Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada reported that the statistics for 1914 showed very little change one way or the other. There were 135 baptisms. The work on the plains, by the sea, and in the mountains "goes on steadily."[3] In the following year there were "a few cases in which the figures did not come up to 1914, but on the whole there was improvement."[4] In 1916 "interest in Christianity showed a decided increase." The number of "listeners" and "inquirers," especially in Shinshiu and Echigo "was much larger."[5]

The reports from the Japan Methodist Church, sent in by Bishop Hiraiwa are particularly encouraging. "Gratifying progress" was made during 1914 in both eastern and western spheres. There were 946 adult baptisms in the former, and 844 in the latter.[6] The progress in 1915 was even better. There were 2,000 baptisms. This result is partly attributed to the National Evangelistic Campaign.[7] In 1916 there was "a large increase in membership throughout the whole connection, but especially in Hokkaido, Kinki, and Chosen districts."[8]

Similar encouragement is provided by the reports of the Japan Mission of the Methodist Church of Canada, which also felt the bracing effects of the National Evangelistic Campaign. The "optimistic note" which "rings clear and strong" in the returns of their missionaries is emphasized in the following individual reports to the headquarters of the Mission :—

"Let me remark upon the evident sturdy nature of the Christian movement here as far as it has gone. I am impressed with its strength, with the character of the people who are attracted to Christianity, and the very sturdy way in which they assume Christian obligation."

"We hear continual rumours of the fierce opposition of the place, but despite it all, the people attend the meetings well and great interest is being aroused."

"In the country work our membership during the year (1914

[1] *Christian Movement*, 1917, p. 44.
[2] *Christian Movement*, 1916, p. 66.
[3] *Christian Movement*, 1915, p. 82.
[4] *Christian Movement*, 1916, p. 72.
[5] *Christian Movement*, 1917, p. 49.
[6] *Christian Movement*, 1915, p. 86.
[7] *Christian Movement*, 1916, p. 75.
[8] *Christian Movement*. 1917, p. 59.

has increased by 60 per cent., while the membership in the city has doubled."

"The Conference year now closing shows the highest reach of the tide of advance over former years."

"The majority of our inquirers are men who gave their names at the public lecture meetings in connection with the Union Evangelistic Campaign."

"The outstanding feature of our work this year was the Evangelistic Campaign conducted last autumn. The speakers were everywhere greeted by large audiences, and the spiritual life of the community was deepened and enriched."[1]

In 1915 the evangelistic workers of the same mission "met with nothing but encouragement," "earnest personal effort" was "rewarded in every case by substantial increases in membership." These results were especially gratfying in the district of Hokuriker, the most strongly Buddhist area in Japan, where 120 adult baptisms were recorded.[2]

The East Japan Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church reported "good growth in evangelistic work" for 1914. The reports from the National Evangelistic Campaign were "very heartening."[3] Two years later the work was "still moving forward quietly," and the close of the year 1916 found the mission "with better prospects for more efficient work than at the beginning." [4]

Among the Presbyterian Missions Mr. Kiyama of the Church of Christ in Japan recorded no remarkable development, but "healthful progress" during the year 1914.[5] In 1916, in spite of inadequate funds, which apparently are not connected with the war, the work was carried on with "gratifying success."[6] The Japan Mission of the Presbyterian Church in U.S.A. reported in 1915 "hopefulness and progress" in the evangelistic work. In all quarters there was a greater willingness to hear the Gospel.[7] The reports of the same mission for last year (1916) are full of encouraging detail.[8] The Southern Presbyterian Mission met with "steady progress" in evangelistic work throughout 1914.[9]

[1] *Christian Movement*, 1915, pp. 87, 88.
[2] *Christian Movement*, 1916, pp. 76, 77.
[3] *Christian Movement*, 1915, p. 92. [4] *Christian Movement*, 1917, p. 65.
[5] *Christian Movement*, 1915, p. 99. [6] *Christian Movement*, 1917, p. 100.
[7] *Christian Movement*, 1916, p. 92. [8] *Christian Movement*, 1917, pp. 78-80.
[9] *Christian Movement*, 1915, p. 103.

At the close of 1916 the reports "from fifty churches were good."[1] Successful evangelism is indicated in the work of the Japan Mission of the Reformed Church in the United States. Mr. H. H. Cook visited in 1914 some of the larger towns in the prefectures of Yamagata and Akita. He addressed 10,000 people, and secured the names of over 200 inquirers.[2]

The representatives of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society in Huneji "expected to find an attitude unfavourable to Christianity" because of the war, "but there has not been a single case where a seeker for truth and salvation seemed to stumble at this sin of the western nations." This was in 1914.[3] In the following year the same mission recorded "wonderful evidences of growth in spiritual life."[4] In 1916 their work showed "steady and substantial growth" in Tokyo and Osaka, but in Milo the year was only "fairly prosperous."[5] The National Evangelistic Campaign had not benefited that field so much as some others.

The Mission of the American Board in co-operation with the Kumiai (Congregational) Churches in Japan had a difficult year in 1914. Its evangelistic force was lower in numbers than formerly. It felt the effects of political unrest and business depression. Trouble was caused by the public agitation against America on account of Anti-Japanese legislation, and the excitement caused by the outbreak of the war. "Nevertheless the year showed substantial gains over the preceding year, in the number of baptisms recorded (1,441 adults), in new preaching places opened, new Sunday Schools established, and in new church buildings erected."[6] In the following year the progress was maintained. There were 1,551 adult baptisms.[7] Most of the chapels showed growth.[8] In 1916 the adult baptisms of the Congregational churches numbered 1,516.[9]

The American Christian Convention reported that "the outcome of the year's work (1914) in actually recorded conversions, makes it appear as one of the best in the history of the

[1] *Christian Movement*, 1917, p. 83. [2] *Christian Movement*, 1915, p. 110.
[3] Ibid., p. 115. [4] *Christian Movement*, 1916, p. 105.
[5] *Christian Movement*, 1917, p. 96.
[6] *Christian Movement*, 1915, p. 119.
[7] *Christian Movement*, 1916, p. 108. [8] Ibid., p. 111.
[9] *Christian Movement*, 1916. Chart 6.

Mission." [1] There were 97 adult baptisms. This advance was maintained in the two following years, the adult baptisms in 1915 numbered 108,[2] and in 1916 they rose to 116.[3]

The Young Men's Christian Association made no allusion to the war in its reports until the close of 1916, when it was recorded that " the work among young men has moved along almost as smoothly as though we were not living in war times. Indeed the effect of their attitude towards Christianity has been less unfavourable than we had reason to fear. It has lessened respect for western civilization but intelligent men have discriminated between that civilization and genuine Christianity. On the other hand, this consciousness of the need of moral power in their own lives and in society at large has turned not a few of them toward Christianity."[4] Coming at the middle of the third war year, this report from an organization which spreads its activity over the most important centres of Japanese life, is perhaps of more significance than that of the evangelistic agencies already quoted. The young men and student classes of any nation are the first to be influenced in days of national excitement, but the reports of the Y.M.C.A. for the three years of war show that very little criticism of Christian enterprise has taken place, and no hindrances which are directly related to the war have been felt.

If the effects of the war upon missionary enterprise are to be serious, it is time that they began to appear. The Y.M.C.A. report for 1916 shows that early misgivings have not been fulfilled. So also the Christian Endeavour experienced a great advance during 1916, its membership rose from 3,256 to 6,140, and 110 new societies were organized. Part of this advance is attributed to the National Evangelistic Campaign.[5] The Women's Christian Temperance Union of Japan also reported at the end of 1916 a year " of exceptional growth and strengthening of the work."[6]

The most striking achievement in evangelistic work, not merely during the three war years, but in the whole history

[1] *Christian Movement*, 1915, p. 121.
[2] *Chriistan Movement*, 1916. Chart 2.
[3] *Christian Movement*, 1917. Chart 6.
[4] *Christian Movement*, 1917, p. 135.
[5] *Christian Movement*, 1917, p. 161. [6] Ibid., p. 169.

of Protestant missions in Japan during the last sixty years,[1] was the National Evangelistic Campaign. This movement was planned before the war at Tokyo in April, 1913, under the chairmanship of Dr. Mott. The practical details of the campaign were worked out by a committee of representative Japanese ministers, missionaries and laymen.[2] Speakers were selected from the different denominations, both Japanese and foreign. They received no payment.[3] The Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox missionaries did not take part in the campaign. The Sei Kokwai (the Anglican group of churches) decided not to be officially represented in the campaign, but many of their missionaries and supporters rendered valuable service.[4] About 90 per cent. of the Protestant Christian force took part in the work.[5]

The meetings were held in most cases in the churches, but public halls and theatres were also used, together with the chapels of Government and mission schools. At the schools the meetings were only held at the request of the school authorities.[6] Large numbers of students and better educated people belonging to the upper and middle classes attended. These were generally people who had had some previous interest in Christianity. But very many others who had formerly misunderstood Christianity, mistaking it for a form of modern political socialism, or who possessed an instinctive dislike for it were among the hearers.[7] Many educationalists, whose opposition to Christianity has always been noticed, were counted among the inquirers.[8] The movement touched all classes in the Empire, large numbers of factory workers were present at the meetings. At Fukin, where ten years ago it had been impossible to hold a public meeting, owing to the violent opposition, some of the most successful meetings of the three years' campaign were held.[9] Public officials and business men have not only everywhere helped to promote the campaign in their localities but have contributed to the funds.[10]

In addition to the public meetings the propaganda was extended to the press. In Tokyo fourteen of the daily papers

[1] *Christian Movement*, 1917, p. 191. [2] Ibid.
[3] *Christian Movement*, 1915, p. 60.
[4] Ibid., pp. 65, 66. [5] *Christian Movement*, 1917, p. 192.
[6] *Christian Movement*, 1915, p. 58. [7] Ibid., p. 59.
[8] Ibid., p. 59. [9] Ibid., p. 64. [10] Ibid., p. 58.

published articles and addresses during thirty-seven days. Copies of these papers—in addition to those read by the general public—to the number of 100,890, were distributed by 1,500 volunteers.[1] Motor-cars were used to spread the message of the campaign in outlying districts.[2] Almost the whole empire was covered during the three years of the campaign.[3]

The statistics of the movement are not yet complete. But the figures which have been handed in show the following results.

Number of Meetings held	3,232
Attendance	604,763
Inquirers	21,136 [4]

Two special evangelistic efforts were made, one in Tokyo during the Exhibition in 1914, and another at Kyolo during the Coronation festivities in 1915.

	Tokyo	Kyoto
Number of Meetings	1,247	219 [5]
Attendance	123,628	9,935
Inquirers	4,733	1,202 [6]

Not only has the whole Christian Church, both Japanese and foreign, been stirred so that it has received permanent effects, such as a new conception of the requirements of preaching,[7] but the efforts of the Japanese members prove that Christianity had taken a firm hold in the country. The prominence of Japanese workers, and the amount of Japanese contributions towards the expenses of the campaign, were two of the most noteworthy features of the movement.[8] Another encouraging result has been the strengthening of the ties of union between the different sections of the Church.[9] In view of the growing unity of all parts of Japanese life under the influence of nationality, which has been made more prominent by the war, this result is among the most useful of the campaign.

It has been pointed out that the movement has not, so far, produced the effects expected in increasing the definite membership of the Churches, nor have the inquirers been sufficiently

[1] *Christian Movement*, 1916, p. 40.
[2] Ibid., p. 40.
[3] *Christian Movement*, 1917, p. 192.
[4] Ibid., p. 194.
[5] Number of sermons and exhortations.
[6] *Christian Movement*, 1917, p. 195.
[7] *Christian Movement*, 1917, p. 196.
[8] *Christian Movement*, 1916, p. 53.
[9] Ibid.

carefully followed up.[1] But so far as the inquirers are concerned the campaign has not ended, an attempt is to be made to get into touch with them again; "the campaign on the whole has been a great one, great in its influence on the Church and on the nation, great in its actual results and in its promise for the future." [2]

If Japan as a nation had been disposed to regard the war as a sign of the failure and ineffectiveness of Christianity in the West, evangelistic work must have suffered first. Solid advantages are to be gained from educational and medical missions, whether the missionaries represent a discredited religion or not, but the fact that the Japanese people have continued to attend evangelistic meetings, from which no immediate or apparent gain is to be obtained, seems to show that they find no moral or religious hindrance in the war conditions of the times. Evangelistic work, in the larger meaning of the term, includes all the activities by which new members or adherents are brought into the Churches. It includes not only itineration in the country districts, and campaigning in public halls in the large towns, but the conduct of regular services and the administration of the sacraments, and all the more directly pastoral duties of the missionaries and their helpers, all, in fact, which does not come within the sphere of the educational or medical or industrial missionary. It is in this primary activity of missionary enterprise, so widespread and manifold in its reach, that the remarkable progress of the war years has been observed. If the effects of the war had been deleterious, it was in this sphere of mission work that the decline would have been at once observed.

The figures for Sunday School work show an increase between 1914 and 1917 of some 23,000 children, or about 18 per cent. This advance is not confined to one or two districts. No less than twelve of the missions reported progress in 1914.[3] In one case[4] there was an increase of 25 per cent., in another,[5] 500 children attended regularly during the year. The Women's

[1] *Christian Movement*, 1917, p. 197. [2] Ibid.

[3] *Christian Movement*, 1915, pp. 77, 82, 84, 88, 93, 108, 111, 113, 119, 126, 130, 135.

[4] Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada.

[5] South Japan Mission of the Reformed Church in America.

Union Presbyterian Mission raised the number of its Sunday Schools in Yokohama from 20 to 24, and in the same city the Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church reported a large increase in numbers. After Christmas new schools were established by the Missions of the American Board. The American Baptists report a marked advance in Sendai.

Certain special features have been noticed in different localities. The number of confirmations was larger.[1] Parents are showing more interest in Sunday Schools. Sometimes they bring the children to the mission with the request that they may be trained into good and useful men and women.[2] In Kurumu the children attending the schools during the year were not confined to those gathered in from the streets as formerly, but came from the houses of people living in the neighbourhood.[3] But in Kumamoto there had been a falling off owing to the opposition of local elementary school teachers. On the other hand in the field of the Japan Free Methodist Mission the teachers are encouraging the children to join the Sunday Schools by becoming Christians themselves, and by assisting in the work of the Sunday Schools. A special effort was made by this mission during the year 1914 to reach the children. Meetings were held in the theatres and public halls, and the children attended in hundreds. A small paper was issued for some months especially for the children.[4]

Work amongst children was not affected by the first year of the war. The general report for 1915 said that "no previous year equalled the last in special efforts put forth and results attained."[5] For that year the missions relied upon their statistics to give an account of their work. The Japan mission of the Methodist Church had over 1,900 children in the organized Sunday Schools of Hokuriku.[6] The Japan Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church had 3,606 children divided among 62 Sunday Schools.[7] The Church of Christ in Japan had nearly 350 Sunday schools.[8] The Hephzibah Faith Mission had 1,550

[1] American Episcopal Mission.
[2] Women's Union Presbyterian Mission.
[3] Evangelical Lutheran Mission.
[4] *Christian Movement*, 1915, p. 130. [5] *Christian Movement*, 1916, p. 62.
[6] Ibid., p. 77. [7] Ibid., p. 87. [8] Ibid., p. 90.

children attending 25 Sunday Schools. Other reports speak of steady progress or the maintenance of past standards. At Sendai, in the field of the Mission of the Reformed Church (U.S.A.) a large number of students belonging to the upper classes assisted in the Sunday Schools, in and around the town.[1]

When the survey of the fields was issued in 1917 it was found that the work amongst children had continued to develop in 1916. The most remarkable development of the year was the opening up of Sunday Schools by the Buddhists, organized on the Christian plan. In the meantime the missions were not content to stand still. The report of the committee appointed by the federated missions to inquire into Sunday Schools has been issued. It recommends the unification of all forces directing Sunday School work, the expenditure of more money on Sunday School buildings and equipment, the kindling of interest on the part of missionaries in the work of Sunday Schools, and the opening of a larger number of Sunday Schools.[2]

The report of the Sunday School specialist has also been issued.[3] He points to the planning and conducting of two training schools for Sunday School teachers as the most important feature of the year. A standard course of training for teachers has been published. A system of graded lessons for the schools covering a period of eleven years has been drawn up and published.[4] During the year the specialist delivered 101 lectures, of which 96 were in Japanese.

Turning now to the work of the different missions during the year, the Nippon Sei Kokuri reports the issue of a new children's hymnal.[5] The Lutheran Mission had started six new Sunday Schools. They have now 2,000 children in their schools.[6] The Scandinavian Japan Alliance found that a general improvement had taken place in their Sunday School work owing to the active interest maintained by the Christian converts. Their Sunday Schools were "in better shape than ever."[7] The Women's Foreign Mission Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church referred to one place where a Sunday School conducted in a very small room had been attended regularly by 150 children.[8]

[1] *Christian Movement*, 1916, p. 101.
[2] *Christian Movement*, 1917, pp. 149, 150. [3] Ibid., pp. 150, 153.
[4] *Christian Movement*, 1917, pp. 154, 160. [5] Ibid., p. 41.
[6] Ibid., p. 107. [7] Ibid., p. 124. [8] Ibid., p. 68.

The work of evangelistic missions and Sunday Schools had been specially selected for examination because any widespread change in the attitude of the Japanese people towards Christian missions must have been first reflected in these spheres. Other branches of the work continue to maintain their past standards, and in some cases have surpassed them. The statistics quoted on page 67 for the number of children enrolled in the mission day and boarding schools are particularly decisive. The membership increased by some 13,000 or 76 per cent. in the two years following 1914.

Medical missions continue their good work, though with decreasing opportunities for activity. This is due not to any opposition on the part of the Japanese, but to the extension of medical knowledge among them. Church building has been continued.

The Christian Literature and Bible Societies report years of greater activity than in pre-war days. Not only have the home churches provided more money for the publication and distribution of Christian literature, but there is a more marked disposition on the part of the Japanese to read works of a serious character. They are turning "from secularism to humanism and from naturalism to mysticism."[1] The circulation of the Bible has already surpassed that of the most popular Japanese work. When it is remembered that the Bible, either as a whole or in portions, is sold and not freely distributed, this result emphasizes the good work which the missions are doing. Of the 240,739 copies of the Bible circulated in 1916 by the British and Foreign Bible Society, only 7,843 were distributed free of charge.[2]

Other favourable influences are at work. The gulf between Japanese and foreigner is being rapidly bridged over. The Japanese language is being affected by the widespread use of English. The sentence is becoming shorter, the style more direct, and the idioms are approaching the form of English idiomatic expression. The general result is that the translation of Western ideas into the language is becoming more easy. This result is further assisted by the continued assimilation of Western tastes and thought through other sources than those provided by literature.[3]

[1] *Christian Movement*, 1917, p. 235. [2] Ibid., pp. 239, 244.
[3] *Christian Movement*, 1917, pp. 236, 237.

The distribution of Christian literature has been assisted by the Federated Missions, and by the three years' Evangelistic Campaign. It is one of those agencies in which the essential unity of Christendom can be manifested to the Japanese people. The translations do not in any sense reflect the division of the Churches and sects. The wide range of the literature which is being circulated in Japan is set out in detail in all the reports of the "Christian movement in Japan." During the last three years (1914–1916) translations of works by the following writers have been published and circulated:—Dante, Carlyle, Tolstoy, Tucker, Sabatier, F. W. M. Myers, Mrs. Browning, Bishop Gore, Bishop Ryle, Bishop Bickersteth, S. D. Gordon, J. R. Miller, C. H. Spurgeon, Andrew Murray, Griffiths Thomas, Helen Keller, Carnegie Simpson, Harold Begbie, Prof. David Smith, Prof. Borden Bowne, Prof. E. O. Davies. Expositions from the works of Kant, Haeckel, Spencer, Caird, Ritschl, James, and Eucken, and essays on Tennyson, Wordsworth, Whittier, Lowell and Walt Whitman, have also been published. This list is only a part of the large number of Western works which have been published during the last three years. Moreover a great number of original works on various topics, Christian, Biblical, Historical, Philosophical, and Social, have been written and published by Japanese Christians.

In only three spheres of Christian work in Japan has the war produced serious results—in the French, German and Russian missions. Sixty French missionaries have been recalled to join the army. But in each of these cases the effect has not been due to any change of attitude upon the part of the Japanese, but to the recall of many of the French missionaries for military service in Europe, and the difficulty of securing funds from home in the case of all three. Up to the present the Japanese Government has made no attempt to restrain the work of the German missionaries.

The evidence of the reports, and statistics for the work during the three years of war, both in the aggregate and individually, amply confirms the opinion of those observers in Japan who have said that the war, generally speaking, has made little difference to the efforts of Christian missions. Very rarely in the press or in public speeches is any reference made to the contrast between the claims of Christianity and the

present condition of Europe.[1] It is true that here and there thoughtful individuals have remarked upon the seeming failure of Christianity in the West,[2] and one correspondent writes that the moral prestige of the West has received a blow, and looks forward to the growth of Oriental self-complacency against the West.[3] Some discussion of this tendency will be undertaken later. But so far as actual results already observed are concerned, the more optimistic conclusion seems to be more closely in agreement with the evidence produced. It raises the whole question as to how far the pessimistic expectations, which undoubtedly existed in the minds of Christians at the beginning of the war, were inherently justified. After all, no thoughtful person will assign the war to the credit of religion, still less to that of Christianity. It is true that Christianity may not have been able to prevent the war in the West. But has that been the fault of Christianity? The West is plunged in war largely because it has refused to accept Christianity. So far as the Japanese are concerned they have no illusions on the matter. They realize perhaps more clearly than Western observers, that religion and life are two very different things, that a nation's actions by no means reflect its religious professions, that if the two do not harmonize, religion is not to be condemned. Because a man professes to be honest and then steals your purse, that does not disprove the reality or practicability of truth and honesty as working principles of life. Moreover it has been suggested that the Japanese does not look for agreement between life and religion in the case of individuals, he regards religion as a philosophy which may be, or may not be related to life.[4] In this case Christianity can take advantage of a lax view of life and thought to continue its work with little fear of hindrance from the influence of the war. At least it can take comfort in the hope that good is being worked out of evil, but the field still remains open for its activity because the Japanese does not understand the moral and practical implication of religion.

So far as present conditions are concerned there is little need for apprehension. But the outlook for the future is not so

[1] *Christian Movement*, 1915, pp. 28, 293; 1916, p. 16.
[2] Ibid. [3] *International Review of Missions*, Jan., 1916.
[4] *Christian Movement*, 1916, p. 16.

reassuring. There is little fear of direct hostility to missions on the part of either the Government or people of Japan. Consequently the reports and statistics of the societies will not show any marked ill effects for some time to come. But the development of Japanese nationality, influenced perhaps by later reflections on the war and Christianity in the West, may tend to direct the attention of the Japanese entirely from Christianity, and even from all forms of religion. Another possible source of difficulty may arise from the readiness with which Japan is absorbing Western ideas, and adopting Western manners. She has been taught to regard Western civilization as the product of Christianity. Success in national and commercial development has been promised only if she adopts Christianity. Her own prosperity as a Buddhist-Shinto nation might easily have suggested another opinion, but in addition, there is the manifestation that Christianity has not exerted that direct influence upon life which the West had always maintained. On the other hand, as has been shown, the interest in Western thought and tastes provides a broadening channel through which Western ideas can be conveyed to Japan, and along with them may pass the solution of the problem —that if Western civilization has failed, it has done so not because, but for want, of Christianity. One observer has remarked that "there is frequent expression of the opinion that the war shows the need of a more vital and active Christian spirit."[1] This opinion is confirmed by the report of the Y.M.C.A. Secretary already noticed. But before the question of Japanese nationality and Christianity can be discussed at length, some attempt must be made to examine the effects of war-trade upon the material prosperity of Japan.

[1] *Christian Movement*, 1915, p. 29.

JAPAN: TRADE AND CHRISTIANITY

JAPANESE trade has advanced by extraordinary strides since the war broke out. From being a commercial community tied and bound by want of capital, want of plant, and want of markets, she has become a nation with a large surplus to invest abroad. The national debt rose from Yen 538,962,521 in 1904 to Yen 2,650,395,115 in 1911. In 1913 it stood at Yen 2,493,969,746.[1] This increase was due to the expenditure created by the Russo-Japanese war. In order to meet it the Japanese people have been taxed more heavily than any other nation.[2] After 1911 the debt began to fall. But too great importance cannot be attached to this circumstance, for in 1914 there was serious depression of trade, influenced not merely by the outbreak of war in the latter half of the year. The total imports into Japan showed a decrease of Yen 133,659,919, or roughly 22 per cent. The exports decreased by Yen 41,358,752, or about 7 per cent. The Chairman at the Fiftieth Annual Meeting of the International Board of Trade at Yokohama on March 31st, 1915, said that home trade had been in "a depressed condition throughout the year, but more pronounced during the second half."[3] He said that the depression was due to several causes. There was the fall in the price of rice, but its effect upon trade had been over-estimated. The fall in the export of silk had diminished the purchasing power of the people. The fall in the value of silver had reduced the demand from China for home products. All these influences were made worse by the policy of retrenchment inaugurated by the new Okuma ministry, and public confidence was seriously weakened by the naval scandal which had caused the resignation of the Yamamoto Ministry. "It would be difficult to imagine a Ministry coming into power under more adverse conditions. The honour of some branches of the

[1] *Christian Movement*, 1915, p. 20. [2] *Christian Movement*, 1914, p. 14.
[3] *Christian Movement*, 1915, p. 22.

Government was at stake." [1] In addition, the declaration of war in Europe accentuated the depression at the end of the year, but apart from the influence of the war there was sufficient ground for the conclusion that the steady decline in the national debt since 1911, was not a sure indication of national prosperity. So also the trade statistics were misleading. The returns show a continuous increase from Yen 842,539 in 1906 to Yen 1,361,891 in 1913. But of this amount, imports in 1913 showed an excess over exports of Yen 96,971.[2] Trade was thus struggling for expansion, but it was checked and hindered on all hands by excessive taxation and lack of capital. The brightest feature in the situation was the rice crop, which exceeded the harvest of all previous years, although the consequent fall in prices was regarded as a misfortune by Japanese men.[3]

Perhaps too great an emphasis is not to be placed upon the trade depression in Japan during 1914. Some of the causes assigned might well have been readjusted, but whatever conclusions the figures justify there can be no doubt that the second year of the war was accompanied by a marked recovery in commercial and financial conditions, which has been carried on into the third war year. The exports rose from Yen 590,390,000 in 1914 to Yen 709,002,000, exceeding the figures for 1913 by 68,657. The total volume of trade rose from Yen 1,186,837 in 1914 to Yen 1,238,047 in 1915. It was still below the figure for 1913 (Yen 1,361,891).[4] But the return for 1913 included an excess of Yen 96,971 in favour of imports, an amount amply counterbalanced by the excess in exports of Yen 173,957 for 1915. This favourable balance was increased to Yen 370,000,000 in 1916, when the total volume of trade rose to Yen 1,880,000. Nor does the boom appear to be abating. The returns for the first three months of 1917 show an increase of Yen 150,000,000 over the corresponding period of 1916, including a favourable (export) balance of Yen 90,000,000 against Yen 42,000,000 for the first three months of 1916.[5] At October 31st, 1917, this favourable balance had

[1] *Christian Movement*, 1915, p. 3.
[2] *Christian Movement*, 1916, p. 23.
[3] *Christian Movement*, 1915, p. 24.
[4] *Christian Movement*, 1916, p. 23.
[5] *Christian Movement*, 1917. Appendix XXXVI.

increased to Yen 490,177,831, and the total volume of trade amounted to Yen 2,085,941,089; by December 31st, 1917,[1] the exports reached Yen 580,000,000 and the total volume of trade Yen 2,636,000,000.[2]

The decline in imports, resulting from the war conditions in Europe, although causing some inconvenience, and affecting prices, has thus stimulated the home industries of Japan. These have been further assisted by the expansion of the markets for Japanese goods in India, Australia, the South Seas, South America, and latterly, owing to more peaceful conditions, in China.[3] In addition the export trade with Europe and America has largely increased. Not only has the export trade been aided by the disorganization of the trade between Europe and these different countries, but supplies from the United States were hindered by the demand for foodstuffs from the European Allies. Now that America is definitely engaged in the war there will be still further openings for Japanese trade.

A proportion of the exports consisted of munitions and clothing, leather goods, and other military supplies for the Allies. During 1916 the bulk of these went to Russia.[4] But the trade in arms and munitions forms only a proportion of the new business. The total exports for 1917 amounted to Yen 1,602,000,000. In 1917 up to October 31st raw silk headed the list with a total of Yen 293,186,053,[5] showing an increase of Yen 81,500,000 over the figures for 1916. Cotton tissues for the same period amounted to Yen 100,015,243, showing an increase of Yen 55,000,000 over the trade of 1916.[6] The extent of Japanese trade can be gauged from the list of articles in the export trade now subjected to Government inspection before they leave Japan. These include silk tissues, matches, enamelled hollow-ware, glassware (including bottles, kitchen utensils, receptacles, lamp chimneys and shades, plate-glass, chemical apparatus, imitation pearls, bangles, etc.), and braids (including straw, chip, and hemp braids, and all other braids used by hat makers). Regulations are forthcoming for

[1] *Times Annual Financial and Commercial Review*, Jan. 22, 1918.

[2] *London and China Telegraph*, Jan. 21, 1918.

[3] See some striking figures on trade with Canada, *Times Trade Supplement*, July, 1918.

[4] *Christian Movement*, 1917, p. 9. [5] *Times Review*, Jan. 22, 1918.

[6] Ibid.

cotton hosiery, shell buttons, brushes, soap, pencils, etc.[1] Since the war began some forty chemicals, previously imported, are now manufactured for home and foreign use.[2] The piano trade has been started. Five hundred pianos have been exported to Australia. An upright piano is being sold at £27 10s. which is said to compare favourably with a German instrument sold before the war at £16.[3]

The opening of new markets has not only stimulated the industries of Japan, it has been the means of money flowing into the country from abroad.[4] To this the shipping companies have very largely contributed. The prosperity of the mercantile marine is shown by the fact that during 1916 the average dividend paid by twenty-eight lines was 90 per cent. One company paid dividends at the rate of 720 per cent. The Osaka Shosen Kaisha,[5] and the Nippon Yusen Kaisha declared a dividend of 50 per cent for 1917.[6] The most remarkable incident in shipping circles has been the achievement of Mr. M. Uchida of Osaka, a young man of thirty-six years of age. At the beginning of the war he was a clerk. He formed a shipping company with a capital of Yen 200,000, which was spent in chartering vessels for long terms. At the end of the first year's working he was able to declare a dividend of 600 per cent. and in 1916 had built up a fortune of Yen 4,000,000.[7]

This figure was surpassed by the Chuetsu Kiseu Kaisha—since wound up—which paid a dividend of 1,000 per cent. The Shinsan Kabushiki Kaisha for the last year declared the enormous dividend of 3,000 per cent. on its paid-up capital.[8]

The amount of capital spent in 1916 on new enterprise and the expansion of old concerns reached Yen 757,797,000. This represented an increase of Yen 365,212,000 over the new capital spent in 1915.[9] But capital is also flowing out of Japan.

[1] *London and China Telegraph*, Dec. 17, 1917.

[2] *Japan Advertiser*, quoted by *Christian Movement*, 1917, p. 10.

[3] *London and China Telegraph*, Dec. 17, 1917. The value of soft goods sent to Australia in 1913 was £400,000. In 1917 this had risen to £1,500,000.—*Times Trade Supplement*, Feb. 1919. [4] Ibid.

[5] *London and China Telegraph*, Feb. 25, 1918.

[6] *London and China Telegraph*, Jan. 28, 1918.

[7] *Christian Movement*, 1916, p. 24.

[8] *London and China Telegraph*, Mar. 4, 1918.

[9] Viscount Mishima, Governor of the Bank of Japan, quoted by *Christian Movement*, 1917, Appendix XXXVI.

At the beginning of the war she was a debtor nation heavily involved, repaying a debt of some two hundred and fifty millions sterling at the rate of one million a year. Since the war began she has paid off sixteen millions sterling, and has placed at the disposal of the Allies, in various ways the sum of £100,000,000 (Yen 1,000,000,000).[1]

These are impressive figures.[2] They are so impressive that the minds of pessimistic critics are filled with visions of a Japan controlled by millionaire atheists, for the conclusion has been made in some quarters that wealth, especially if it is acquired quickly, must be accompanied by vast unbelief and utter worldliness. We are told that because Japan is getting rich she is becoming "materialistic." Has anybody, by the way, taken the trouble to define the term materialistic? To read the ruminations of some observers of modern times one might conclude that the only people who deserve their place in the sun are disembodied spirits. But disembodied spirits have nothing to do with the sun. This world was intended for beings with material bodies, who were placed in it to develop those bodies, and all their life to the utmost capacity. Souls they were given, it is true, but the fundamental principle of Christian religion is that the spirit is to be developed, in this plane at any rate, by and through the life of the body. How then can we avoid being materialistic? To say that a man is materialistic is only to say that he believes in the Sacramental principle. If the Son of God had not become materialized, there would have been no Incarnation and no Christian religion.

The need of the day is not to deny human life to man, together with all the best that money can bring, when it is properly distributed, but to impress upon men who have the joy of material existence in their hearts, that there is another joy which they ought to have in their souls. Christ did not come to draw men away from the world. He came to bring heaven into it. To enter the Kingdom of God was to do God's will. Men were not to come into the Kingdom, the Kingdom was to come into them, into their souls. It is true He said, "Ye cannot serve God and Mammon." What He meant was

[1] *Times Review*, Jan. 22, 1918.

[2] Cf. *Pioneer Mail*, Aug. 23, 1918, for a complete review of Japanese trade and finance in 1917. The figures for Canada, the United States and Africa are especially impressive.

"serve God and make Mammon serve you." But riches can never serve us if we run away from them.

Now how does the case stand with Japan? The war has brought to Japan a prosperity unknown to her before. "Very well," say the pessimists, "she will inevitably turn from religion and all good works to enjoy her newly won riches." The reply is that she may do so, and there are some signs that she will do so, but to say she must do so is not to prove the case.

Can we learn anything from the modern story of other nations? A little over a hundred years ago Great Britain began to get rich. About sixty years ago America began to get rich. At the date when war was declared these nations possessed the bigger moiety of the wealth of the world; a fact over which the Germans boggled somewhere when they planned for forty years to capture half a continent and knock out Anglo-Saxon supremacy. But do we find that British and American wealth have been accompanied by a decline of religion among the Anglo-Saxon peoples? If so, why is it that the nineteenth century, which saw the accumulation of vast wealth, the fruit of British and American commerce and industry, was also the epoch of a great revival of Church life and activity at home, and also of the great modern missions of the Christian Church in those countries? The achievements of trade and industry among the Anglo-Saxon peoples have created and released the large sums of money necessary to maintain the flourishing missions in Japan, China and India.

There is, on the other hand, the conclusion to be drawn from the action of Germany. But to draw a hasty inference from the German attack upon the liberties of Europe is to invite the entrance of a fallacy. When we condemn Germany what is it we condemn? Everyone is, of course, tired of being told that the German Government and not the German people made the war, and we are tired of it, not because of the repetition but because a great many things point to it as being untrue, or only very slightly true. A nation cannot be trained to war for forty years to the tune that one day there will be a big show when its own intrinsic valour will be the biggest thing seen, without also getting big in the head. Nothing else explains the lamentable failure of the German Socialist party

at the beginning of the war to make a stand on behalf of the working men of other countries—and their own. No! The German people are in the war almost as much as their Government, and incidents on the Western front have shown that the Bavarians, from whom some of the missionaries came, can be quite as "thorough" as the Prussians. There is little difference between South and North in the Germans in the trenches.

What is it we condemn when we condemn Germany? The whole nation, from the high command to the munition workers. But what for? Trade, commerce, business? It has been the fashion to say that trade causes war. One might as well claim that guns or tanks cause war. Trade certainly provides the thews of war, but only in the sense that a man's fists provide the punching details of human anatomy. Nations quarrel because they want more trade? So they do, but they do not go to war about trade unless there is some big voice behind coming from another quarter, and saying in no uncertain tones "if you don't fight you will starve." And it is the voice from the other quarter which is the real cause of war. In the case of modern Germany the cause of the war was not a mere greedy desire of prosperous merchants wanting more space in Africa or Asia in order to develop more trade, still less was there a danger of German trade being stifled for want of room to move. Events have shown that Germany knew how to look after her trade with other nations without hitting them in the face—or back. No! The cause of the war was the intoxication of the German people with the draught called "Empire," imbibed after '64, '66, and '70, when Bismarck poured it out at the charges of Dane, and Austrian, and Frenchman. But it was not a simple draught. It was compounded with the poison of military glory, which turned a people, already boastful with victory, into a regimented nation with the drill sergeant and company major as the type of individual perfection for ordinary men. When the day came for trying their strength, trade was perhaps made an excuse, as it certainly was made an asset to the war coffers, but trade by itself could never have caused the war. Commercial men have too much to lose to favour the speculation of war, and the spending ways of soldiers do not appeal to their notions of business like economy. It is safe to say that without a system of military

government which played upon the national ambitions created by Bismarck's wars, the Germans would have been content, like other peoples of the world who were getting rich, to go on with their manufacturing and shop-keeping. If they have deserted religion it has not been on account of trade. Their scholars have had more to do with the matter than their traders. But even if a case can be made out against the material prosperity of Germany, there is still another consideration. Our contention is that a prosperous commerce and industry need not hinder the work of missions. It has not done so in Germany. It is true that the amount of support given to the Protestant missions of Germany has not equalled that given to the British and American missions. But the large proportion of German missionary contributions have gone to the Roman missions, which bear a record of achievement in the East, only a little way behind that of the Protestant missions, during last century. As in the case of the Protestant missionary effort, the largest part of the support given to Roman missions came from the countries engaged in prosperous trade—Germany, France and Italy. So far as Germany is concerned this interest in missions, which reveals itself in the attempt to systematize missions into a science, as well as to support them as a practical art, point to the contention already made that the fruits of German trade were capable of other uses than those to which they have been put.

To return to the argument, even if the case were conclusively proved against German commerce and industry, the result would not negative the conclusion already made from the development of Great Britain and America. It would only prove that a nation which gets rich quickly *might* throw religion over. But the different story of the Anglo-Saxon race shows that a nation which gets rich quickly can also travel along another path, of which modern missions in Japan and the East generally form the field. So long as it is thus possible for Japan to be rich and yet not forget religion, the suggestion can be thrown out to the critic and the pessimist that it will be better to abide until we see which course she will take—that it will be *much* better if we try to assist her in the right direction by supporting foreign missions.

Are there any signs that Japan is favourably disposed towards

philanthropic and religious enterprise? To be quite plain that means, are there any signs that her people are willing to give away some of their new wealth for good works? Figures have already been quoted which show that during the years of war the contributions of Japanese Christians to missionary work rose from Yen 374,538 in 1913 to Yen 619,044 in 1916, and that the number of self-supporting Japanese Christian communities increased from 205 in 1913 to 269 in 1917. Christian converts are, of course, always zealous people, but that does not counteract the weight of the argument drawn from the bulk of their contributions. However, the matter does not end here. At the Coronation of the new Emperor in 1915, His Majesty made a gift of 1,000,000 Yen to be distributed over the prefectures to form endowment funds for their charity grants.[1] At that date in Japan there were 374,698 people who had reached the age of fourscore or more. Each of these received a small gift at the Coronation. Among the many donations made to societies, institutions and cities, at the time of the Coronation, there was the gift of 250,000 Yen made by the Mitsui family to Kyolo Fu, another of 100,000 Yen presented by Jingemon Terada to the city of Kishiwada. Mr. Kihachiro Ochura gave to the public his fine art museum with an endowment for its maintenance, the whole gift being worth 500,000 Yen.[2] But of more significance for the future prospect of religious and philanthropic work in Japan was the gift of 2,000 Yen by the Emperor and Empress to the Christian Leper Asylum near Kumamoto,[3] and the scheme of the Surmitorno family to spend a large sum on the foundation of an industrial school for poor boys in Osaka.[4] This school was opened in April, 1916, in the form of an institute for training mechanics. Its total cost, with endowment, was 1,000,000 Yen. Two other handsome donations of the same amount were made in 1916, which proved to be a year of many noteworthy public gifts. The late Mr. Shiomi of Osaka, left 1,000,000 Yen to endow and equip a physical laboratory at the Medical University of Osaka, and Keio University received 1,000,000 Yen from a donor whose name has not been recorded. The progressive

[1] *Christian Movement*, 1916, p. 273.
[2] *Christian Movement*, 1916, p. 275.
[3] Ibid., p. 274. [4] Ibid., p. 275.

city of Osaka was especially favoured in 1916. In addition to the two large benefactions already mentioned, the sum of 500,000 Yen was given by Mr. Takeo to the city to found a laboratory for tuberculosis research. Mr. Ohara of the Okayama prefecture gave 50,000 Yen to the Osaka branch of the Okayama orphanage, and 10,000 Yen towards a home for fallen women. Among the benefactions received by public institutions in Tokyo were Mr. Rokuro Hara's gift of 300,000 Yen to found a physical and chemical laboratory under the auspices of the Imperial University; two gifts to the Methodist Aoyausa Gakuin, one of 200,000 Yen from Guijiro Katsuta, an old member of the school, others of 10,000 Yen each by Mr. Kichebai Murai, and Mr. Kono to various Tokyo charities. The Sailors' Relief Association received 20,000 Yen from Mr. Ryohei Toyokawa. Its funds now amount to 400,000 Yen. Mr. Toyokawa had been awarded this sum as a bonus by the Nippon Yusen Kaisha (Shipping Company). A family in Kyushu has promised 10,000 Yen to various charities, and for the fifteenth year in succession the Kobayastri Dentifrice Company has paid over a large sum (this year 9,128 Yen) to well-known charities in connection with its scheme of advertising through philanthropy.[1] Perhaps the most significant item in this long list is the gift of 200,000 Yen to the Methodist mission school at Aoyama, Tokyo. The roots of Christian missionary work are going down deep when a former member of the school remembers it in this munificent manner.

In addition to the gifts made to permanent charitable institutions, large sums of money are distributed annually to the victims of public calamity. The Emperor and Empress sent contributions to the Sailors' Relief Society, to the victims of the flood in Chosen (Korea), to the funds for sufferers from the storm in Fukushima Ken, the fire in the Hakodok, and the typhoon in Kayashima. A royal gift was again sent this year to Miss Riddell's Leper Asylum at Kumamoto. The Government funds (Risai Kyujo Kikin) for the relief of sufferers from national calamity now amount to over 52,000,000 Yen. With some exceptions the principal is not used, and the fund grows yearly. Another large relief fund (the Saisei Kwai) possesses over 26,000,000 Yen. In 1916 550,000 Yen was distributed.

[1] *Christian Movement*, 1917, p. 330.

The War funds, including the Red Cross, and the Japan Patriotic Society raised another 500,000 Yen during 1916.[1]

The same spirit of liberality has been shown by the Japanese Church. Between 1914 and 1917 their contributions rose from Yen 441,233 to Yen 669,887. This increase is especially noteworthy because the contributions from the home base have shown a tendency to decline. It means that any financial stringency imposed upon the Western nations by the war will probably be made up by the Japanese Christians. The material prosperity of Japan places ample means within the reach of the Japanese Church for this purpose.

In so far as some of these gifts are the result of war prosperity they may be said to be directly related to the problem of missions and the war. They show that in spite of the preoccupation of the commercial community in transactions which enthral by rapidity of development and limitless outlook, a large section of the nation is alive—perhaps more alive—to the higher calls upon wealth than those which trade and business can make vocal. So long as wealthy men in Japan are ready to give, and to give handsomely, to philanthropic and religious enterprise, we need not conclude that prosperity, whether the result of the war or not, will stifle the more humane and more spiritual senses of the nation. But a feature which is even more clearly related to this discussion, is the fact that without abundant commercial prosperity men of benevolent disposition, whether members of the commercial community, or of the old feudal families, would not be possessed of the means to fulfil their benevolence. It is not trade, nor wealth which stifles religious and humanitarian instincts, but the methods by which trade and industry are sometimes conducted, and the evil or harmful objects upon which wealth is sometimes spent. To say that abundance of wealth is bad, is equivalent to saying that good harvests are bad. They are bad if people make use of them to gorge the unrestrained appetites of the body. But no one thinks of condemning nature because she is bountiful, so also there is little justification for the condemnation of trade if it loads its fruits upon a busy nation. In either case the remedy for evil is the equitable and humane distribution of the harvest, whether of the earth or

[1] Ibid., p. 329.

the factory, among all who contribute, directly or indirectly, to its production. Prosperity is only bad if men do not know how to use it, but if they do misuse it that is not the fault of prosperity, but of men.

The misuse of prosperity, and still more of war prosperity, is harmful. To say this is not to overcome the ill-effects which undoubtedly exist. The most serious trade problem for Japan at the present time is the condition of the industrial community. During the period 1880 to 1916 the population of Japan increased by 25 per cent., but in the five largest towns the increase was 325 per cent. The population of Tokyo rose from 857,780 to 2,225,000; that of Osaka from 500,000 to 1,500,000; Nagoya from 200,000 to 450,000; Yokohama from 100,000 to 400,000, and Kobe from 100,000 to 450,000.[1]

The increase in the town population is not mainly due to a natural growth of the urban communities. Every year more than 300,000 workpeople come from the country into the towns.[2] Their hours of labour vary from twelve to sixteen a day. The hygienic conditions of the factories and the housing are bad.[3] In one part of Tokyo 33·9 per cent. of the inhabitants are living in dwellings of which the total area consists of from one to three mats. The remaining 66·1 per cent. are in dwellings with an area of four and a half mats or less. This survey covers 1,100 households. The average family consists of five people. In many cases two or more families occupy the same room, and very often a lodger is taken, who boards and sleeps with the family.[4] Physical deterioration is taking place rapidly. Especially is this marked in the case of the women. There are some 500,000 women in Japanese factories, who work from thirteen to fourteen hours a day in the raw silk mills, and from fourteen to sixteen hours in the weaving mills. In the spinning mills the women have night work every other week. The day shifts share the same beds with the night shifts. No attempt is made to air or change the beds. Few are able to stand the strain of this work for more than a year, but fresh supplies of women come in from the country at the rate of 200,000 a year. Of this number 120,000 never

[1] *Christian Movement*, 1917, p. 280.
[2] Ibid., p. 281. [3] Ibid., p. 283.
[4] *Christian Movement*, 1917, p. 284.

return home, and of the 50,000 who go back to the country some 13,000 are found to be medically unfit, and of this number 13 per cent. have contracted consumption. Those who remain in the towns move about from one factory to another, or become low-class waitresses or public prostitutes.[1] The moral conditions among the girls are extremely bad. One expert says that in certain spinning mills one half of the girls employed often lose their honour within a year.[2] To make matters more serious still, the war has brought increased cost of living with higher taxation, but with no proportionate rise in wages, and in some cases none at all.[3] The workers are at present almost powerless to protest against the system. They have no franchise, and are allowed to form no labour unions.

These conditions are indeed deplorable, but it is no more fair to lodge them to the charge of material prosperity than to blame the fruits of the earth for gluttony or drunkenness. It is a fact that lust for gain often moves the Japanese employer to pay small wages, and to house his workpeople badly, but that is caused by a misuse of the fruits of industry. Nothing is to be gained by telling people not to make money. What is needed is more money, so much of it that it will be worth while for the State to compel those who possess it in abundance to spend part of it in bettering the conditions of labour and life for the Japanese working classes, and, if they refuse, to make it worth while for the State to intervene and become the direct controller of industry. The outcry should be raised not against the people who possess wealth but against those who abuse it; it should never be raised against wealth itself.

But deplorable though the conditions of industrial Japan may be, they constitute a move towards better things. Bright and happy, country life in old Japan may have been on the surface. There were indeed, and are still, the cherry tree to be seen and the temple bell to be heard, but there were, and are,

[1] *Japan Chronicle*, Mar., 1914; quoted by *Christian Movement*, 1917, p. 284.

[2] *Christian Movement*, 1917, p. 284.

[3] Cf. *London and China Telegraph*, Mar. 11, 1918. In the summer of 1917 an agreement between employers and workpeople prevented labour troubles.

offensive places to be smelt, and good water is almost unknown. It is a step in the right direction to move people into the towns, where, sooner or later, because they are close together and can talk, they will combine. The masses cannot become vocal till they come together. There are certain signs that the Government will in due course assist the people's movement. The present difficulties are the inevitable result of the sudden changes which have come over the face of Japan. Apart from the question of the payment of labour, it is difficult to see how the other problems might have been solved quickly enough to meet the crowds who come into the towns every year. The housing problem developed so rapidly, and on so extensive a scale, that with the most humane intentions it is difficult to see how the Government could have kept pace with it in one generation. Japan has moved in forty years from a feudal to an industrial form of society, and she has moved fast enough. There are some signs that she has moved too fast, even for the leading sections of society to keep pace with her development. So much the more careful, then, must she be not to move too rapidly for the masses of the people, for these can never, in their own interest, be hurried when the peculiar shell of feudalism is breaking up. This is the root cause of the collapse of Russia. The democratization of the country has been carried on too hastily. What Japan has to fear in her labour conditions is not the mere outburst of defiant though self-reliant workers, but a sort of industrial Bolshevism which feels vaguely that it has a grievance, yet sees far too badly to know how to prepare for its removal. It is probable that any sudden expansion of the franchise would be of little benefit to the workpeople, but a wise Government will be careful that life and work are purged from some of their present evils, so that when the vote is given it may be received by a hopeful and peaceful, not a discontented and excited people. There are signs that the Government is conscious of the problem. A new Factory Law came into operation in September 1916. It represents no more than a beginning. Children under twelve years of age are excluded from the workshops. The hours of labour for children under fifteen and for women are limited to twelve daily. But to both these regulations so many exceptions are added that the effects of the law are largely nullified.

Progress from the life of old Japan was inevitable if the nation was to play its part in modern life and do a work in the world. The present industrial conditions are a stage in the progress, not altogether inevitable, but complicated by certain difficulties which cannot be solved *in cursu*. The true solution lies in the creation of more wealth, and in its more even distribution, provided always that the admirable system of education continues to improve the people. It is useless to pay higher wages if a man does not know how to spend them. A degraded and vicious proletariat is safer with small wages, provided the wolf does not actually come to the threshold. But it is equally certain that education alone will not raise the people. They must have higher wages so soon as they are ready for them. Indeed one result of education will be that they will demand higher wages. Moreover it is madness to deny these two things. Capital has created in the labouring population a great organism which will either bless or ruin modern life. Because it is an organism, and not a mere organization, labour must be treated as a human factor, otherwise it will become a dragon to devour capital and everything else. When every other consideration is eliminated it is only hard worldly policy to educate and pay the people.

So far then as the physical and moral aspects of the commercial and industrial problems in Japan are concerned the war-prosperity of the country appears to offer to the work of missionary enterprise no hindrance which is beset by intrinsic difficulties. The accumulation of money need not hinder missions. But there is the problem of the people's religion. When the country people crowd into the towns they break away from all the religious influences of the old life in the country—gods, shrines, festivals, are all forgotten,[1] or if remembered it is with feelings of impatience and indifference, engendered by the hard work of town life. If there are some cases where the memories of village worship remain kindly, that does not render the preservation or continuance of worship any more possible, for all village religion is largely a matter of locality, the gods are the gods not only of the clan, but of the countryside, and when the local land-marks have been left behind, the influence, and especially the attraction of the god ceases to be felt.

[1] *Christian Movement*, 1917, p. 285.

This hardening of the religious sense, which inevitably ends in its decay and death, is one of the most serious of the results of modern industrial life in all countries, but especially in a country like Japan, where religion needs the blue sky and the warm sun, the cherry tree and the temple bell for its inspiration. Here again it is unfair to accuse wealth and material prosperity as causes of the secularization of labour-life. It is just the absence of wealth, and the absence of material prosperity among the town-workers which makes it impossible for them to create the necessary religious atmosphere for Shinto or Buddha in their new surroundings. Again, what is needed is more wealth and its better distribution.

But how does this problem concern Christian missions? On the surface it appears that the desertion of Shintoism and Buddhism, which life in the great towns entails, should make Christian evangelization so much more easy. This is not the case, for the conditions of the change are such that not merely are the particular forms of worship forgotten, but the religious sense is lulled, and there is nothing for Christianity to build upon. If the town-workers abandoned their native worships because these had been found wanting, there would be much hope that they might be more easily induced to try Christianity. But it is not Shinto or Buddhism which has failed the people, they have had the religious sense crushed within them by the toil and sordidness of the new industrial life, and if they are not able to consider the claims of the old religion, they will be even less patient with a new one—at least until it has demonstrated itself in very deed the way and truth and life.

To this extent war-prosperity will make the work of missions more difficult. On the other hand, the statistics of the National Evangelization Campaign show that considerable response awaits Christian evangelization in the large towns, though it is not clear what percentage of those who are influenced belong to the labouring classes. In the second year of the Campaign (1915) the number of people who attended the meetings in Tokyo was 74,913, and 3,872 inquirers were registered. In Osaka there were 36,438 listeners and 2,173 inquirers. In Nagoya the audiences numbered 6,196, with 301 inquirers.[1]

These figures are by no means conclusive. They merely

[1] *Christian Movement*, 1916, pp. 43, 47.

indicate the possibility of successful Christian propaganda. But the missions cannot rest content with evangelization. The present need of the working people is not a new religious belief, they have for the time being lost the capacity for considering the claims of religion. Their first need is the creation of some material palliative to the hardness and grimness of toil, and some counter attraction to the calls of low vice and vicious amusements. Social work, supported of course by Christian enthusiasm on the part of the missions, and enlightened by the exhibition of Christian love and virtue, will do more at the present stage to render the workers interested inquirers into the spirit behind the dispensary, the club, the library, the crêche, the hospital, than direct evangelistic appeal. It is questionable whether the Church in Japan is fully alive to this opening, or if so, whether it has begun to make use of it. We are told that in Tokyo a Japanese social worker who rises at 4.30 a.m. to prepare the day nursery and kindergarten for the children of working parents, and who does not surrender some of his charges until 8 p.m., in speaking of a Christian church in the city said, "Why does not that pastor, with a large house, a church, a fine playground, and a good salary, utilize such unusual facilities for gathering the needy children of the neighbourhood and training them for usefulness? It would give him an influence and points of contact in this community which two sermons a week and a Sunday School alone can never get for him or his church."[1] This may be a sweeping conclusion which forgets that the value of the two sermons depends largely upon ample leisure for their preparation, at the same time it emphasizes a tendency in evangelistic and pastoral work which needs serious consideration. On the other hand at least one report from a missionary source states that during 1914 and 1915 there was a "striking" increase in work of a social and industrial character.[2] The truth seems to be that missions in Japan are just awakening to the necessity for social work in big towns on a large scale. The war prosperity of industry makes the problem bigger, but it has not created it, that must be laid to the charge of modern industrial conditions, and the manner in which modern wealth is distributed.

[1] *Christian Movement*, 1917, p. 290. [2] *Christian Movement*, 1916, p. 62.

JAPAN: NATIONALITY AND CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

THE war, up to the time of writing, has had no serious effect upon the propaganda of Christian Missions in Japan, and the material prosperity of the country which the war has increased, carries with it no intrinsic hindrance to the work. The real opposition is rather to be looked for in the quickening of national ambition and the growing national self-consciousness of the Japanese people.

There are two supremely absorbing interests in the life story of a nation—religion and patriotism. Each of these presents difficulty to the propagation of a new religion. Japan has moved, for the present, from the phase where religion forms the vital interest in life. She is on the wave of a victorious, expanding, and self-assertive patriotism. This has never been very far from the hearts of her people, but the successful foreign policy of recent years, made brilliant by two victorious wars, has driven most other interests into the background. Close upon this development has come the present war with fresh openings for military glory and fresh hopes of conquest. A nation intoxicated with military success and territorial expansion readily allows religion to be forgotten. In fact it finds its religion in its military successes. It becomes caught up by the spirit of its own genius. It finds immortality—religion—in this. Generations may pass, individuals may die, but as each man approaches the grave he feels that he will live in the spirit of his race and in the glory of his nation. If the national system is headed by an Emperor who has behind him long traditions, the Emperor will become the visualized reality of the national spirit. To die for the Emperor will be equivalent to dying for the nation, or to dying for oneself. But the Emperor—the nation—never dies, and so the indivi-

dual does not die. Nothing less explains the ardour of the Japanese infantry in the Russian war, who leapt to the assault inspired by no other cry than "Banzai!—now is the time to die for the Emperor."

The same sense of immortality in death by battle was revealed by the French people when Napoleon returned from Elba. At once a quarter of a million bayonets rallied to the Emperor, not so much because the defeated general and politician had enthroned himself in the hearts of his countrymen, as that Napoleon visualized for Frenchmen the immortal spirit of France. And to-day the "poilu" goes up from the trenches inspired by the same ardour. *La patrie* is the religion of Frenchmen, in dying for France they save their souls. That is their belief, and no Moslem ever held it more splendidly or more disinterestedly.[1]

When a people reaches this stage of patriotic devotion and military infatuation, it can do without organized religion. It feels no need of it. So we find the French turning from the Virgin to the goddess of Liberty during the revolution. So also to-day, the Japanese are turning from Shinto and the Buddha to pay devotion to the genius of the nation represented by the Emperor. No nation ancient or modern ever approached nearer to the Emperor-worship of Rome than the modern Japanese are doing. But there is hardly room for Nation-worship or Emperor-worship and Christianity. There must be a struggle, though it is no part of our allotted task here to say which, in this case, will prevail.

Religion fosters individual self-consciousness and self-assertion.[2] But ardent patriotism of the type we are discussing merges the individual in the mass of moving national enthusiasm. Self-assertion is not thereby obliterated. It is intensified, for it now appears on a national scale. The self-realization of the nation is the aggregate of self-realization of all its members. It is this which makes patriotism, especially when intoxicated by military success, the most formidable of all human powers. It can be approached in no way, neither by the self-assertion of a great and dominating personality, nor by the

[1] Of course Moslem military ardour was inspired by very different considerations.

[2] In a right sense as often in a wrong.

highly organized and efficient self-assertion of any of the great commercial or industrial interests.

Self-conscious nationality, with patriotism as its central limb, develops in one of two directions. Religion, at least in an organized form, is forgotten. This has been the development of modern France, and at the present, or at least until the war broke out, Japan appeared to be following a similar course.[1] The other development is that of modern Germany, where religion is not officially cast out, where it is indeed opportunely made use of by the governing powers, but where the main development of the national life is the militarization of all sections of society. In the end this process is even more fatal to the life and growth of religion, for militarism upholds a much lower standard of action and morality than patriotism. Patriotism, from which it professes to start, is itself made subservient to the military machine. If the German soldier says *Deutschland über Alles* he means the German army much more than the German nation. Without the German army and its Prussian ideals, there would be no Germany at all. France, on the other hand, had a motherland, and a national soul, long before her army made them glorious.

The danger to which the war exposes Japan is that she may adopt the methods, if not the ideals, of Prussia, and fall a victim to the self-assertion of a militarist practice, if not theory, of government and nationality. There are not wanting signs that she was dangerously near to this development before the war. But the war has brought her stages closer to it. We can pass over the fact that her military system is based upon that of Germany, and the fact that the colossal success of the German armies is bound to influence the imagination of Japan. A more significant and more important consideration is her far Eastern policy. Japan appears to have commenced a programme of territorial expansion on the mainland. Korea was annexed after a few years' protectorate. In the early part of 1915 certain demands concerning Japanese interests were brought before China, but in a manner not framed to meet the sensibilities of that nation. Although the conditions of the agreement signed in May, 1915, represented a modification of the original

[1] There has not been, of course, any disestablishment of religion such as took place in France in 1905.

demands, none the less they were the fruit of an ultimatum issued by Japan to China.[1] It is true that the annexation of Korea was probably the best thing possible for the people of Chosen, and it is difficult to see how otherwise Japan could have guarded her interests in a region so close to her own gates. But the annexation constitutes a dangerous precedent, and presents a tempting solution for similar difficulties in other spheres. It has been suggested that Japan has no ambitions other than commercial and financial so far as China is concerned.[2] But it is possible for a nation to create financial interests within the borders of another nation which make territorial aggression almost a necessity, or at least an ever present temptation, and supremacy in commerce and finance can be almost as obnoxious to the other people as direct intervention in their affairs.

The position is made more difficult for Japan because the problems which confront her have not been created by herself. Her position in the Pacific is one of predominance. It has resulted from two wars which were defensive in the main. Consequently, if this Oriental power, flushed with victory, and in the full tide of Oriental self-assertion, were to take advantage of such a situation, the Western powers need not be too strong in condemnation, especially in the presence of the object lesson in self-aggrandisement which is being carried out in eastern Europe by a power for which Japan cannot but have considerable admiration.

If Japan follows the example of Germany there will be a large element of unconsciousness in her action. She will tend to be misled by the difficulties of the situation. Her insular position, the lack of coal, iron, steel and raw products within her own borders, necessitates commercial expansion as the most vital concern for the future. The proximity of big neighbours, either strong already, or girding themselves to be strong, compels Japan to secure her political and commercial interests before the opportunity passes. To these considerations must be added the fact that she is not an upstart nation, and therefore has a claim to be heard, prior to that to which her modern development entitles her. She had a national identity,

[1] Cf. Japan's present attitude concerning the cession of German rights to her in the Shantung peninsula.

[2] *Morning Post*, Jan. 11, 1917.

a national tradition and history long before the era of her modern prosperity. She did not win her nationhood, like Prussia, at the expense of other people, she has so far, rather strengthened it by defending herself against others.

All these elements will be present in any complications which may arise if military intervention in Siberia is undertaken. It will be wise for Japan if she recognizes the temptation to territorial expansion which such action will expose her. In the near future, in whatever quarter she decides to concentrate attention she will need to take care lest world-power in the eastern hemisphere becomes for her a national obsession. There is a sense in which this consummation is vital to her national integrity. As a sea-power she must be supreme in the commercial affairs of that region. But if her just ambition takes on the form of territorial expansion on the mainland, not only will she be brought into conflict with China, and other powers who have interests in China, but a strain may be placed upon her island resources which a naval power is not always able to maintain. The commercial supremacy of Great Britain was built up as the result of abandoning territorial claims on the Continent. Venice was ruined because she embarked on a scheme of continental aggrandisement. The danger of the position in eastern Asia seems to offer a warning to Japan. At the same time the difficulties by which this gallant nation is beset call for the most sympathetic attitude upon the part of the great powers, especially those which have benefited so markedly from her intervention in the war. The past history of all the European nations contains phases when either they proved quite unable to resist similar temptations to which she is exposed, or phases when they came very near to a surrender to purely selfish motives. As for America, she has declared a Monroe doctrine for the whole American continent, South and North; it has been suggested that Japan has equal right to set up such a doctrine to guard her interests in China and the whole Asiatic coast within her own neighbourhood.[1]

The pre-occupation of mind which these absorbing problems are bound to have for the Japanese cannot but affect their attitude towards religion, and consequently towards the claims of Christianity. The war is accentuating the national ambitions

[1] *Christian Movement*, 1915, p. 12; 1916, p. 13.

of Japan, and is absorbing her attention away from religion towards a sense of national self-sufficiency which must render more difficult the work of the missionaries, even if it does not affect, in the long run, the results of their work. But there are other questions in the problem which are of vital importance for the people of Japan as well as for Christian missions. If the foreign policy of Japan shows signs of the influence of a military hierarchy, so also the internal policy of the Government reveals tendencies which lend colour to the fear that worse forms of bureaucratic autocracy, backed by military power, may have to be combated by the exponents of democratic development. To make this statement is not to forget what has been said already concerning the necessity for caution in the rate of democratization. It is but a slight step from precaution to aggression, from a wholly justifiable desire to rescue the nation from over-rapid progression towards democracy, to a short-sighted and self-interested repression of the national instincts of the people for self-expansion and self-government. This danger is illustrated in the attitude of the Government towards labour and the extension of the franchise to working men.

In Japan there are no labour unions in the Western sense of the term. This is not because the Japanese working men are not conscious of the necessity for reform. Between the years 1888 and 1899[1] several unions came into existence, and numerous strikes took place. The decline of the unions has been due partly to jealousies and corruption within themselves, partly to the fact that 60 per cent. of the workers consist of women who are always moving from one factory to another, but more especially is it due to the repressive action of the Government. In 1899 the suppression of the unions was begun after the strike declared by the Engineers and Firemen's Union, so that within five or six years the leaders were silenced and the unions were dissolved.[2] To-day the only unions in existence are the Seamen's Union of Yokohama, with 3,000 members, and the Labourers' Friendly Society (Yuai Kwai). The latter is an organization modelled on sound but moderate principles. Its founder is a Christian and a graduate of the Imperial

[1] *Christian Movement*, 1917, p. 317.
[2] *Christian Movement*, 1917, pp. 317, 318.

University. Among its supporters are one or two prominent owners of capital, but the Society consistently refuses to receive financial assistance from the employers. There are 30,000 members divided into 100 branches in different parts of the country.[1]

The work of this union is doubtless admirable, and probably helps to secure in a quiet way that gradual development towards self-expression which is the wiser course for labour in the East. But no change seems to have taken place in the attitude of the Government towards the recognition of the right of the labourer to combine for the purpose of self-defence. As recently as June 1915 an application which was made to the Home Office for permission to form a labour union was refused on the ground that the promoters were men devoid of means, education, and credit, and hence disqualified to form such an organization.[2]

The economic importance of the labourer is made worse by the absence of political rights. Of the twelve million males in Japan less than one and a half million possess the franchise, and of this number only 153,768 live in the big towns. The labourer is automatically excluded from the franchise.[3] In 1914 an official statement was issued promising a reduction of the tax qualification for the franchise from 10 Yen to 5 Yen. The change would increase the number of voters by one-third, but would mainly affect the people in the country districts.[4] So far nothing more has been heard of this suggestion. In the meantime the artisans and labourers of the towns do not cease to maintain their interest in political and economic affairs. They read the newspapers, and criticism of public men marks the growth of self-respect in the attitude of the Japanese working classes. The only possible means of checking the growing self-expression of the Japanese masses is the resort to methods which have already become discredited in the hands of the military oligarchy in Germany. The day of reckoning in Germany has still to come. But in Japan, if the Government is willing to follow the course of development and reforms already suggested by many leading men, no crisis need arise. The most real stumblingblock is the tempta-

[1] *Christian Movement*, 1917, pp. 318, 319. [2] *Christian Movement*, 1916, p. 279. [3] *Christian Movement*, 1917, p. 286.
[4] *Christian Movement*, 1915, p. 16.

tion presented by the prospect of efficiency and rapid success abroad together with the rigid though temporary maintenance of authority at home, which a military despotism holds out.

Japan's progressive commerce should present sufficient outlet for national ambition and national patriotism, without resort to military ambition of an aggressive character. It has been suggested that Japanese trade may suffer a relapse after the war. A hint that peace was at hand caused a panic on the Stock Exchanges of the country in 1916.[1] There are prospects that British trade in Japan will recover its lost ground after the war.[2] But two factors in the present commercial situation of Japan lend encouragement to the hope that no decline in trade of serious proportions need be expected when peace comes. Firstly, the vast market of China will be more readily accessible to Japan than to any other foreign nation. Chaotic conditions in China cannot last for ever. The large financial interests which Japan holds in China will cause her to seek more and more opportunity for the development of trade with that country. Secondly, the war has caused the expansion and organization of Japanese industry on a scale more adequate to meet the openings for trade which China will present. Before the war this development seemed almost impossible, or possible only in the future. But the recovery of Japanese finance has been followed by a rapid extension of commercial facilities among her own people which has placed in her hands an instrument for dealing with after-war problems, and promises the continuance of her present prosperity. The volume of trade may decline, perhaps appreciably at first, but with plant at home, and a continuously opening market at her doors, Japan need have little fear of a commercial collapse when the European nations and America return to commercial competition in the East. The effect of the war upon Japanese industry has been to provide it with that equipment for development with China which seemed a far-off goal before the war. The Chinese trade will, for some years to come, need capital. The war has provided Japan with sufficient capital to lay the foundations of trade with China upon a permanent basis. Moreover her geographical position will enable her to set up a lower system

[1] *Christian Movement*, 1917, p. 10.

[2] *London and China Telegraph*, Mar. 11, 1918.

of freights than is possible for the Western nations or for America. The only prospect which in any way casts a shadow over the horizon of future trading relations with China is that of a Japanese expedition into Siberia.[1] This will divert capital from industry, and may further embitter the none too friendly attitude of China towards Japan.

But if the concentration of the attention of the Government upon trade, and especially upon the trade with China, provides an antitoxin to the virus of military ambition, there seems to be little to divert the attention of the growing official self-consciousness of the nation from certain forms of Christian activity. It is unlikely that a progressive nation, controlled by a strong central Government, becoming more and more conscious of its own identity and power to do things in its own way, will much longer permit certain forms of religious or semi-religious work to continue in Christian hands. Whatever liberty may be allowed to evangelistic effort, it is probable that educational and medical missions will be asked gradually to surrender their work to Government or municipal institutions. In the modern state, the organization and control of education is becoming increasingly a matter of State business. This development has of course appeared in Western lands, and the policy of further removing the schools from the administration of the Churches continues. The latest step towards complete State-control of education in Great Britain is the Scottish Education Act (1918), which has transferred the denominational day schools of Scotland from the Churches to the public authority. The same tendency has appeared in Japan, and it is not to be supposed that the Churches can expect any more special treatment in a foreign country than they receive at home. The attitude of the State towards education does not portend any hostility towards religion as religion. It is the result of a growing conviction of the national importance of popular education, which should therefore be under the direct control of the State. There is also the recognition of the fact that efficiency demands the expenditure of more money than the Churches can devote to the work. These convictions will become increasingly strong in Japan, where there is nothing

[1] This statement now needs modification in view of the dispute over the Shantung peninsula.

in the way of religious sentiment to call for the prolongation of Christian educational activity.

A sign of what is coming has been made clear in Chosen.[1] On March 24th, 1915, the Japanese Government issued an educational ordinance for Chosen. No schools are, in future, to be opened in which religious teaching of any kind is carried on. Those schools which had the sanction of the Government for such teaching, before the date of the ordinance, are allowed ten years in which to bring their systems into conformity with the regulations.

The attitude of the Japanese Government is to be interpreted not only in connection with its special administrative problem in Chosen, but in the light of that growing nationalism which is the most active influence in the country. The policy of Japan in Chosen is frankly to make the Koreans loyal subjects of Japan—to transform them into Japanese. This problem will be complicated if the missionaries are allowed freedom to implant in the minds of large numbers of the rising generation ideas of life which were not generated in Japan. The mere fact that Chosen is administered by the Japanese disposes the Koreans more decidedly towards the mission schools than would be the case if Chosen were still controlled by the old régime. As the Governor-General is reported to have said, Japan cannot stand quietly by while the Korean boys and girls are turned into little American citizens.[2] The difficulty confronting the Japanese administration in Chosen is quite clear. It cannot afford to take any risks. Most certainly it cannot allow any delay or hindrance in the work of assimilation. To meet the special difficulties of the case the educational ordinance of March, 1915, was published.

But the significance of the regulations is not confined to Chosen. The *Official Gazette* published in Tokyo, March 29th, 1915,[3] announced this change of policy "in order to unify the national system of education *in harmony with the progress of the times.*"[4] In a semi-official publication the

[1] The modern Japanese name for Korea.

[2] Bishop Judson Brown, in *The International Review of Missions*, Jan., 1917.

[3] Bishop Judson Brown, in *The International Review of Missions*, Jan., 1917.

[4] The italics are mine.

Hon. M. Komatsu laid emphasis on the same motive. "I sincerely hope that you will appreciate *this change of the time* and understand that missions should leave all affairs relating to education entirely in the hands of the Government by transferring the money and labour they have hitherto been expending on education to their proper sphere of religious propagation. . . . While the propagation of religion must belong solely to the control of the Church, educational work must entirely come under that of the Government. . . . The Government should not allow anybody to interfere with the educational work it undertakes for the maintenance of the independence of the State and the promotion of its welfare. Precisely as the Government should not interfere with religion, so the Church should not interfere with political administration in general and education, which is part of the administrative work, in particular."[1]

Although this declaration of policy is concerned with affairs in Chosen, it reflects the general attitude of Japanese statesmanship of the day. (The educational reforms discussed in July 1915, but afterwards modified, presented the same tendencies.) It resounds with general principles rather than special regulations. Emphasis is laid upon the change of the times, and the necessity for the complete control of education by the State. This is only another way of saying that Japan has become conscious of herself, of her own civilization, of her own views of life, and method of action. The significance is increased by the declaration that no restriction upon the "religious activity" of the missions is implied or contemplated.[2] Japan relies upon the vitality of her own national spirit to assist itself and to preserve the substance and integrity of her national life. Christian missions, so far as they confine themselves to evangelistic activity are to be tolerated. But the impression is created that this would not be the case if the Government saw any sign of denationalization in this work.

A similar tendency is to be seen operating against the work of medical missions. "In view of the evolution that has taken place in medical work since the commencement of missionary

[1] Article in the *Seoul Press*, April 3, 1915, quoted by Bishop Judson Brown, *International Review of Missions*, Jan., 1917.

[2] Mr. Komatsu: *Seoul Press*, Nov. 25, 1915. Ibid.

effort in Japan, the conclusion must be arrived at that medical mission work as an auxiliary of general missionary effort no longer occupies the important position it once did."[1] This development is not, of course, so recent as the change of attitude in educational matters. It is the repetition of a development which took place long ago in Western countries, but it reflects, more than less, the independence of outlook of modern Japan, and it lends added weight to the conclusion that more and more Christian missions in Japan will be compelled to rely entirely upon evangelistic propaganda.

The semi-official declarations already quoted make clear the fact that the Government possesses no semblance of hostility to Christian enterprise as a religious effort. This is amply borne out by the list of Coronation honours. Among the awards then made to educationalists no less than seven out of fourteen were granted to well-known Christians, while two posthumous awards, a rare recognition in Japan, were for the first time conferred upon two Christians, the founders of the Doshisha University.[2] It is not easy to conclude how far these awards form a recognition of Christian education or the decoration of Japanese citizens, who though Christians have performed notable service to the nation. There is at least a frank avowal that Christianity is not in any sense taboo in official circles, although there is little to justify any suggestion that the conclusions drawn from the changing attitude of the Government in Chosen should be modified.

Christian missions in Japan will have to face a growing spirit of national independence, accompanied by Government restrictions in all branches of work which are not strictly evangelistic. The effect of the war will be to quicken both these developments. It is useless to deny that the effectiveness of the missions will be curtailed. Educational and medical missions have opened doors which otherwise were fast barred to the entrance of Christianity. In future the evangelistic efforts will have to bear the whole brunt of the work, the initial stages of winning the respect and affection of the people, as well as the later process of conversion and building up of church life. This change of conditions will call for an even higher type of spiritual

[1] *Christian Movement*, 1917, p. 261.
[2] *Christian Movement*, 1916, p. 5.

religion in the life of the Churches and of the missionaries. It may be that men of the requisite qualification will not be forthcoming in the same numbers as formerly. But where all is to depend upon apostolic zeal and evangelistic ardour, it will be folly to send into the field any save those who can meet the needs of the situation, merely in order to maintain the numerical standards of the mission staffs. The most hopeful sign in the situation is the growth in the numbers of Japanese Christian missionaries and workers, and the increasing interest in Christian propaganda. If Japanese Christianity becomes national, it will become an integral part of the new nationality which the war is quickening, and any cleavage of interest or opinion will *ipso facto* disappear. The Coronation awards show clearly that the Government has no objection to the adoption of Christianity by its own people. If the missions can take full advantage of this attitude of people and Government they will be more than compensated for any loss of opportunity which the curtailment of educational and medical missions may involve.

Another hopeful sign is revealed by the widespread interest in Christian literature. If the educational work of the missions has to be abandoned, an extensive sphere for activity can be undertaken by educationalists in assisting with the work of translating and writing books for general circulation. There is also the channel of the press, awaiting not merely the entry of Christian writers into Japanese journalism, but the creation of new journals and magazines. The work is already well developed. It only needs more support in the way of contributors, translators, authors, and funds, to make it an even more efficient organ of conversion than the schools have been.

One other result is to be anticipated. The development of the sense of Japanese nationality will unify all aspects of the mental outlook of the nation. Christian missions will not be faced merely by representatives of Shintoism or Buddhism, by this or that political party, or by any of the different interests commercial, industrial, or even military. The problem of evangelism in Japan will resolve itself into the simple issue of the conversion of a Japanese nation, united by the single inspiration of national ambition for the future and national pride in the past.[1] This means that the missions must link

[1] "In all classes of society there is a decided change—a greater

up their forces and present an equally united front to the work before them. No mere sectional activity is likely to make headway, in the face of the new unity of modern Japan, sufficient to justify the hope that one day Japan will be a Christian nation.

It is gratifying to remember that a big step forward in this direction has been made. The work of the Edinburgh Continuation Committee in Japan has already resulted in the formation of a federation of many of the missions. At present the federation concerns itself mainly with questions of mission policy, with the demarcation of spheres of activity, and with the publication of Christian literature and the organization of Sunday Schools. But it is necessary that the process should be continued until it includes methods of action and statements of belief. This is one of those big problems which can be easily stated, but which seems well nigh insoluble when the question of application begins to be discussed. The home Churches stand in the way. The age-long divisions of Christendom are not bridged over. But in the face of the national unity of modern Japan, the federated missions must continue their efforts, grasping as much liberty of action for themselves in the foreign field as can be won from the individual boards at home, demonstrating at every opportunity that in the mission field,

tendency to be themselves, with less of a worship for things western. Customs that have languished have been revived; ceremonials that were celebrated in a half-hearted manner are at present the occasion for a great rejoicing—temples seldom visited are now in a flourishing condition. A new interest has been shown in the arts and crafts of the country. Japanese dancing and music are claiming the attention of Tokyo people as they have not done for many years. There has been a remarkable revival of the No, and in all parts of the city the poetical lines of these old literary treasures may be heard intoned by those who have recently acquired acquaintance with this form of culture so typical of old Japan. The people show an energy that they have not displayed for many years. Outwardly there is restlessness, and inwardly a corresponding confidence and consciousness. They are enjoying unprecedented prosperity, and are apparently little concerned with what is going on in Europe; yet the tremendous upheaval and change that is taking place in all parts of the world is gradually affecting the whole thought and life of the nation." (*Times* Correspondent quoted by the *London and China Telegraph*, April 15, 1918.) The Correspondent attributes these changes directly to the effects of the war.

at least, unity is not only possible but necessary if the Japanese people are to be gained for the one Lord, one faith, one baptism of the Christian evangel.

It is unfortunate that this is a matter which allows much scope for discussion. Wherever much discussion is possible, action becomes slow and sometimes ineffective. Opportunities are lost and defeat is courted. But as in other vital problems the men of action on the spot must go forward. They must take a lead from the exponents of the practice of despotic administration, they must realize that sometimes action is more necessary than discussion. In one sense the democracy of the Protestant Churches is their weakness. Perhaps the war will teach us that the other side has something to offer in the way of swift decision and practical enterprise. If we do not learn the lesson, it will not be for lack of an example. But if we do not absorb the lesson there is one nation that will—Japan, who has for many years had a leaning towards Germany which is something more than mere admiration. Japanese nationality is taking the best from the autocracy as well as the democracy of the West. The day may come when a Japanese bureaucracy will take advantage of the weakness of democracy as represented to her by the disunited Churches of Christendom in the mission field.

Democracy is on its trial so far as Japan is concerned. The result of the war will decide whether the political development of Japan continues its sure if slow progress towards self-government, or whether it hardens and pursues the already existing tendencies towards bureaucracy. If the Central Powers win the war, or if an inconclusive peace is signed which leaves Germany in possession of the Belgian coast, we may expect to see in Japan the adoption of Prussian principles and perhaps methods, if not an open rapprochement between herself and Germany. A large section of the German press is already calling a halt in the attitude of German diplomacy towards Japan. It professes to make the confession that a serious blunder has been committed in past relationships with Japan. It is true that Japan may well "fear the Greeks" so far as German professions of friendship are concerned. A military nation is often an adept in the art of flirtation though it does not inwardly recognize any consummation which involves legal

ties. At the same time there is room enough in China and Siberia for both Germany and Japan to get a good deal more than they both need or even want, and if the glamour of a conquering Germany were cast over our gallant ally in the East, the Western nations could not with decency blame her, or even the top dog in the West. The fault would lie to the debit of a democracy which had been so indisciplined, that in the day of its trial it was found unable to defend itself.

In that event forecasts for Christianity in Japan are not hard to make. Germany, like the green bay tree, would be flourishing. Its prosperity would be the offspring of a disembowelled form of moral and religious law. It would represent the uprooting of twenty centuries of Christian teaching and life, and a return to the policy which slew Agag after the expectancy of death had passed away. No serious believer in the Christian message of life and goodness could entertain the view that Christianity in the long last would be quelled. But if no earnest attempt is made to remove from the divided Churches one of the most potent weaknesses of democracy, Christian missions would be heavily handicapped to face a strong Japan inspired with the ideals of Prussia, and the victory of the Cross, would, so far as this generation—perhaps this civilization—is concerned, be indefinitely postponed.

CHOSEN (KOREA)

THE work of missions in Chosen has been complicated during the years 1913–1916 by three distinct influences—the abatement of the earlier revival movements; material prosperity under the Japanese regime; financial stringency partly affected by the war. It is, therefore, not easy to discover what effects the war has produced upon missionary enterprise in Chosen.

The large number of conversions recorded by the missions during the early years of the century has been checked. This is due mainly to the fact that the wave of revival, which swept over the Korean Church and produced results only to be compared with the early growth of the Church in Uganda, or some of the mass movements in India, has died away, except in certain localities. This result is only natural, for some reasons it is beneficial. The process of winnowing and sifting has set in and a more healthy tendency to conserve stable elements has been marked. Many of the converts who were easily persuaded to make a nominal profession of the Christian faith have dropped away, leaving behind, for the more careful attention of the missionaries, a still handsome residuum of the work of more romantic but more emotional days. There is nothing new in such a development, and nothing to be deplored. The missionary force, in Chosen, as elsewhere, is not capable of dealing adequately with more than a certain number of new converts during any given period, and if the process of conversion slackens of its own accord, without the necessity of refusing numbers of eager if not very stable inquirers, there need be little cause for regret. The missionary can devote his attention to the important work of making sure of results already gained, without self-reproach for opportunities being lost. This appears

to be the condition of the Church in Chosen at the present time, and any attempt to estimate the effects of the war upon the work must take account of this development.

Since the Japanese Government took over the administration of Chosen seven years ago, striking progress has been made in the material progress of the country. The grain crops have increased cent. per cent., forestry and agriculture have been seriously undertaken. Railways are being built, and roads are being constructed or repaired. A new education system, which has called forth the admiration of many of the missionary bodies, is being introduced. Political reforms have been undertaken which increasingly make property more secure, and the administration of justice more easy and more equitable.[1]

During the period of the Japanese protectorate (1907–1912) the revenue of Korea only amounted to Yen 23,000,000, including a loan advanced yearly by the Japanese Government without interest. This figure does not include another annual grant of Yen 14,700,000 for railways, postal, telegraph, and telephone services, law courts, and the Residency-General, nor the grant for military expenditure. In 1916 the revenue had increased to Yen 59,848,998. This figure included the last annual grant to be paid by Japan. Before the Japanese protectorate the export trade amounted to Yen 8,000,000. Imports were two or three times as great. In 1916 the export trade had increased to Yen 56,801,000. Imports have also increased, but since 1912 the unfavourable import balance has gradually lessened.[2]

The effects of the Japanese administration were gathered up and revealed to the Korean public in a most convincing manner at the great exhibition held at Soul in September and October 1916. The magistrates and other public officials brought large numbers of the people from all parts of the country to see the exhibits,[3] and the visitors returned permanently impressed by the possibility of continued material prosperity for Chosen, under the guidance of the new regime.

In many ways the results of all this material progress are

[1] *Christian Movement in Japan*, 1915, p. 370.
[2] *The London and China Telegraph*, Feb. 4, 1918.
[3] *Christian Movement*, 1916, p. 346.

beneficial for the missions. Communications between different parts of the peninsula become increasingly more easy. The people are more accessible to western influences. The Koreans are grasping the fact that Japan is achieving these successes by the aid of western knowledge, and the appeal of western religion is consequently carrying more weight. This fact was visibly witnessed at the exhibition by the large number of people who attended the special evangelistic services in the hall erected on one of the main sites of the exhibition.[1] They returned to distant parts of Chosen impressed with a new sense of the importance of Christianity.

At the same time the effects of material progress have not been entirely good. There are signs that the Korean, who naturally turns readily towards religion, is being diverted towards the absorbing claims and prospects of modern commercial and industrial progress, with a tendency to leave religion out of account. One of the missions records that this movement has already been checked. But it is probable that the coming years will see its development in most parts of the peninsula. With regard to the present and the immediate past, there can be little doubt that it has had some effects in slackening the number of conversions to Christianity.[1]

The dying down of the revivals, and the growth of material prosperity are sufficient, together, to account for the slower rate of increase [2] reported by the missions during the years 1914-1916. The effects of the war have been felt only indirectly. At the end of 1914 it appeared that the war was about to exert a serious influence. The rice crop for that year far surpassed all previous records, but it was accompanied by a decrease of 60 per cent. in prices, and all other food stuffs fell in the same proportion.[3] This decline was partly due to an economic influence which has been observed the world over, wherever there is any sudden inflation in production, the rice crop in Japan in recent years has met with the same experience, but the decline in prices

[1] There is no inherent reason why material prosperity should continue to hinder mission work in Korea. The hindrance is to be laid not to the charge of material prosperity itself, but to a mistaken view and use of it, which sometimes, undoubtedly react as a hindrance to religious work. Cf. pp. 88–94.

[2] *S.P.G. Report*, 1915, p. 59. [3] *Christian Movement*, 1915, p. 364.

was also partly due to financial stringency created in Chosen by the war. The financial position of Chosen was more serious than the financial difficulty in Japan because Chosen does not possess the same capacity for industrial and commercial development, and it is unlikely that it will be able to enter the main stream of Japanese trade for some time to come. The country was rescued from its immediate difficulty by the Government of Japan, which bought up the rice crop with Government funds, and since 1914 the financial conditions have assumed a more normal proportion. There is no distress among the people, and the prices of necessary commodities have not gone beyond the reach of the masses.[1] Indeed the prospects for agriculture in Chosen are not devoid of promise. Chosen may be able to come to the assistance of the combatant countries after the war with supplies of foodstuffs which will help to make up for the inevitable shortage in those areas.

Thus the effects of the war upon Chosen are narrowed down to the increase in price of certain articles which come from Europe, America and Japan, together with some difficulty in financial centres. So far as the missions are concerned little difficulty, beyond that of getting recruits and money from the home base, has been experienced. It is true that the report on Y.M.C.A. work during 1914 spoke of the criticism levelled against the Christian nations by the press of the Far East, at the beginning of the war. But such criticism does not appear to have been widespread, nor to have been maintained for long, nor does it appear to have affected the work of the missions to any appreciable or even visible extent. Indeed if the presence of the two deterrent factors already noticed were not apparent, it would be difficult to avoid the impression that during the period under review missionary enterprise in Chosen had been but little hindered.

The bare fact stands out that between 1913 and 1917 the number of adherents belonging to six great missions working in Chosen rose from 170,997 to 203,973. The increase was steady and progressive with only slight fluctuation in each mission during that period.

[1] *Christian Movement*, 1916, p. 343.

	1913	1914	1916	1917
American Presbyterian North	92,612	109,521	116,322	107,858
American Presbyterian South	13,464	16,375	18,764	18, 787
Canadian Presbyterian . .	8,557	9,880	9,113	13,046
Australian Presbyterian . .	7,132	7,128	10,174	11,003
Methodist Episcopal North .	40,058	43,204	43,901	43,419
Methodist Episcopal South .	9,174	10,281	10,062	9,860
	170,997	196,389	208,336	203,973

The statistics for 1915 are not available.

The written reports of the several missions record quiet but continuous development throughout these years. No striking developments as in former years, were marked. In only one case was a definite decline noticed,[1] and one other mission reported some difficulty in one or two localities owing to financial stringency.[2] In no case was the war assigned as a cause of retrenchment or failure. It is interesting to note that both of these missions had recovered two years later. In 1916 the Methodist Episcopal Church (South) passed through a "good year" with extension in all branches of its work.[3] In the field of the Presbyterian Mission (U.S.A.) if the progress in some places was slow, and even accompanied by retrogression, in other places it was marked by " steady growth," or by " leaps and bounds," so that the work as a whole was a step in advance of the previous year.[4]

Any check which may have been experienced was attributed to the financial stringency of the times. This has proved to be merely temporary, but while it was most keenly felt it had already been turned to good account by the Churches, since it resulted in increased self-support on the part of the Korean Christians. At the beginning of 1916 the Methodist Episcopal Church (North) was compelled to reduce its grants to the native elementary schools by 50 per cent. The Koreans undertook to make up the deficit, and only a few schools were closed.[5] The Southern branch of the same mission reduced its grants to

[1] Methodist Episcopal South. *Christian Movement*, 1915, p. 391. Against this must be set the report of the Northern branch of this mission which recorded the best year in its history. Ibid., p. 385.

[2] Presbyterian Mission (U.S.A.). Ibid., p. 400.

[3] *Christian Movement*, 1917, p. 366. [4] Ibid., p. 479.

[5] *Christian Movement*, 1917, p. 363.

native churches in 1915 and 1916 by 10 per cent. In nearly every case the converts made up the required amount.[1] The Oriental Missionary Society reported "advancement" in 1914, in spite of the acute financial difficulty of that year,[2] and the Presbyterian Mission (U.S.A.) found that the financial stringency was beneficial in helping to win back many of the converts from the glamour of material interests.[3] Two years later the same mission reported that the "church was learning more about giving," and that self-support tended increasingly to become the practice of the native Churches.[4] Side by side with this development, which marks the growing responsibility of the native Churches as one of the direct effects of the war, some of the missions were able to record an increase in the spirit of initiative and leadership on the part of the native Christians.[5] This is a noteworthy development among a people whose characteristic has been a listless apathy in anything which called for self-expression and self-assertion.

During the first two years of the war no ill effects were felt by the Bible Societies. In 1914 the American Bible Society doubled the circulation of 1913.[6] In 1915 its circulation again showed an increase.[7] The British and Foreign Bible Society had a record year in 1914,[8] and again in 1915.[9] In 1915 the circulation of the Korean Religious Tract Society increased by 100 per cent.[10] In spite of the scarcity of money the Koreans were anxious to buy Christian literature. During 1916, the American Bible Society reported a lower circulation, due to the reduction of the number of colporteurs. This was caused by a reduction in the funds sent from the home base.[11] The British Society also recorded a smaller circulation, due in this case, to floods in certain areas, which hindered the colporteurs from itinerating.[12] But neither of these instances points to any change in the attitude of the Koreans as a result of the war.

[1] *Christian Movement*, 1917, p. 396.
[2] *Christian Movement*, 1915, p. 395.
[3] Ibid., p. 400. *Christian Movement*, 1917, p. 379. [4] Ibid., p. 386.
[5] *Christian Movement*, 1915, p. 401.
[6] *Christian Movement*, 1915, p. 417.
[7] *Christian Movement*, 1916, p. 362.
[8] *Christian Movement*, 1915, p. 417.
[9] *Christian Movement*, 1916, p. 362. [10] Ibid.
[11] *Christian Movement*, 1917, p. 351. [12] Ibid., p. 352.

Two special evangelistic efforts were made in 1915 and 1916 along the lines of the three years campaign being held in Japan. During the Exhibition held at Seoul in September and October 1915, a leading site was rented by representatives of all the missions, and a hall capable of holding a thousand people in three separate compartments was erected. The large central hall was used for cinematograph services, while in the side halls evangelistic services were conducted in Korean and Japanese respectively. Over eighty cinematograph displays of scriptural subjects were given before a total attendance of 21,500 people. Continuous preaching was maintained in the Korean hall, when the cinematograph was not working, and services were held daily in the Japanese hall, 411,900 tracts and books were distributed, over 100,000 people attended the meetings, and the names of 11,627 inquirers were registered and forwarded to the churches all over Chosen. Already the missionaries are able to report new and increased interest in Christianity among people who were formerly hostile or half-hearted in their religious life.[1]

The other movement was a Forward Campaign organized by the Methodist Episcopal Mission in 1916. Its object was to institute Bible classes for adults, to arrange revival meetings for Churchworkers, to create new Sunday schools for the children, and generally to bring all Church members into active work. By these means an attempt was made to inaugurate a more permanent movement than can be attained by a purely evangelistic effort like that conducted at Seoul. The immediate results have been an addition of 330 new converts to the mission. The same mission has also instituted a better training for the voluntary Exhorters and Local Preachers.[2]

The report of the American Bible Society for 1916 indicates the one doubtful point in the outlook for missions in Chosen. The war apparently is affecting the supply of funds from the home base. To some extent this has been the case in Japan, but the Japanese Church has made up the deficit. The Korean Christians have also undertaken to meet a larger share of the expenses than formerly, but there are limits to the self-support of the Korean Church. Chosen does not possess rapidly expand-

[1] *Christian Movement*, 1916, pp. 351–354.
[2] *Christian Movement*, 1917, pp. 358–360.

ing commerce and industry like the trade of Japan. As an agricultural community she does not possess that surplus of wealth from which the Japanese Church can increasingly draw supplies. If the war results in the decrease of financial support from the home base the work in Chosen will probably suffer.

On the other hand the fact that Chosen is an agricultural rather than an industrial community will save the country from any ill effects which sudden material expansion might produce. Chosen has already had one sharp lesson in the uncertainty of material prosperity when based upon the fluctuating prices of grain. Moreover the wants of an agricultural people are more simple than those of an industrial community. There is more opportunity for religious interests, and a more decided tendency towards the claims of spiritual development. Consequently the hindrances before the missions in Chosen are not likely to prove so troublesome as those in Japan, where material prosperity, for a time at any rate, may prove to be a stumbling-block.

CHINA: THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION

MISSIONARY enterprise has always been more hindered by political conditions in China than by any inherent hostility existing in the minds of the people either against Christianity or against its western exponents. The Chinaman is a quiet peace-loving individual, not prone to change, but quite willing to hear a new teaching, provided no attack is made upon the privileges or sensibilities of his own system of thought. The ready welcome given to Nestorian, Franciscan and Jesuit missionaries in earlier days is a proof of the cosmopolitan urbanity of the Chinese which exists below his external manifestation of the unchanging conservatism of the Oriental. The prospect for modern missions in China was good, but unfortunately for the Missions and for China, the entry of Christianity in the nineteenth century was made under the ægis of the political and commercial encroachment of the western nations. From the days of the Opium Wars to those of the Boxer War the Chinaman was led by the force of events to regard the missionary as the protégé, and in some sense as the agent of aggressive western powers, who came to enrich themselves at the expense of all that the Chinese held most goodly in life. The old Manchu government was not slow to encourage this attitude. If the attacks on missionaries, which culminated in the massacres of 1900, were not directly started by the Mandarins, it is clear that a certain amount of encouragement, and that not small, was given to the popular hostility against the Missions, and the sources of both popular hostility, and official approval of that antipathy are to be found in the political problems created by the claims of western nations in China, or at least by the methods adopted to realize those claims. Extra-territorial-

ity, spheres of influence, treaty-ports and so forth, may have been necessary expedients in the opening up of China to the trade of the world, but the means employed to secure them left little undone which could affect the pride and self-consciousness of the Chinese Government and people. If it had been possible to avoid the offence given to the national and racial susceptibilities of China, there is little reason to believe that religious antipathy would, by itself, have laid out the thorny blood-stained path opened for the missionaries in China.

Reports of the murder of some three or four missionaries during the last two or three years show that the field in China is not even yet open to secure propaganda. Hence the question for missionary enterprise in China created by the war depends upon the extent to which the war is operating to remove the ill-effects of past misunderstanding in the minds of the Chinese, that is to say, will the war be effective in assisting the settlement of the political problem in China in both its internal and external aspects?

An epoch of absolute security for missionary enterprise appeared to have been reached when the revolution of 1911 broke out, and when the country was thrown open to missionaries with the approval of the Government, with their express invitation to come to assist in spreading throughout China the principles of western civilization. But as recently as April 1918 a missionary, attached to the Dublin University Mission at Fukin was murdered,[1] and two American missionaries, both women, were kidnapped by brigands on the Kiangsu-Shantung border.[2] In the same month an American citizen was captured by robbers in the same province.[3] In March two American engineers were robbed and captured in the Hunan by bandits,[4] and in the same province in January, a robber broke into a hospital and wounded several ladies, in one case fatally.[5] Hostility to Europeans has also been shown by firing on British vessels.[6] It may be true that these actions have been com-

[1] *London and China Telegraph*, April 29, 1918.
[2] *London and China Telegraph*, April 22, 1918.
[3] *London and China Telegraph*, April 29, 1918.
[4] *London and China Telegraph*, Mar. 11, 1918.
[5] *London and China Telegraph*, April 8, 1918.
[6] *London and China Telegraph*, Mar. 4, 1918; Mar. 11, 1918.

mitted by roving bands of robbers cut loose by the disturbed state of the country, but that explanation does not reduce the significance of the fact that the present political situation in China is not altogether favourable to missionary enterprise. To make this statement is not to deny that the missionaries are making progress, indeed a remarkable advance has been recorded, but it has been in spite of difficulties created by the political conditions. The point for discussion is whether the war will influence the political machinery of China in the direction of stable and regular action. When war broke out in Europe it seemed that China was at length provided with an opportunity of working out her internal political problems without hindrance or criticism from the Western nations. America was known to be favourable towards a policy of leaving China to set her own house in order, and with the great Western powers involved in a life and death struggle it seemed certain that China's day of salvation had arrived. But the complete answer to the question was found to be wrapped up with the domestic history of the country since the Revolution. It became clear that China was not ready to seize and make use of the opportunity offered to her.

The Revolution of 1911 was engineered by the young China party, consisting mostly of officials or professional men educated in the West. The masses of the people were ignorant of their political needs, and had they been conscious of them, they did not possess sufficient education to give expression to them. In addition there was in operation the traditional peculation and corruption which had been bred into the governing system of China by the old regime, and which no sudden revolt, no matter how convulsive, could expel all at once. These three factors contributed to bring about the downfall of the first republican scheme.

The instrument of the reaction was Yuan Shi Kai, a statesman who had done service under the Manchu rule. In spite of opposition to the Young China Party he was elected first president of the Republic, with the consent of the revolutionaries, as well as that of the Manchus, who had called him to their assistance. By the end of 1913 he had destroyed the provisional constitution of the Young China Party, and in April 1914, he erected a new constitution in which all administrative power

was vested in himself.[1] Yuan realized that China was not ripe for an advancd stage of representative government, and that her urgent need was strong government, and definite leadership. The outbreak of war strengthened his position by removing from China the influence of foreign financiers, who encouraged her to incur fresh debt. The way seemed clear for Yuan Shi Kai to restore in his own person the principle and substance of monarchical government.

But what the war supplied in the way of assistance in one direction it retracted in another. Japan was busily engaged, after the conquest of Tsingtao, in extending as well as conserving her interests in Manchuria. She had long regarded with an ambitious gaze the predominance of Russian and German influence in China. The victory at Tsingtao provided her with a semblance of justification for expanding her programme in Manchuria. The uncertain condition of Chinese politics supplied the opportunity. At this juncture Yuan Shi Kai appeared to be upon the point of uniting against Japan all the disunited elements of Chinese nationality, around his own person, to defend the national honour upon a point which was always a sore one—the prosperity and rivalry of the nation which had inflicted upon China the defeat of 1894. Yuan rightly judged that opposition to Japan would command for him more widespread support among all classes of his countrymen, but he was wrong in thinking that they were willing to concede to him as a reward the right to reconstitute the monarchy.

Another distracting influence was exerted by the Germans. If even there was a chance, in spite of the opposition of Japan, that Yuan might unite China under a stable and successful government, it was further hindered by German intrigue, which had for its object the continuance of chaos in China, with the ultimate aim of making capital for German political and commercial ambitions.

In May, 1916, the President was compelled to concede the Japanese demands in a modified form, thought not until an ultimatum had been issued to Pekin. But even so, he was not able to secure the support of the Japanese government for his dynastic scheme. Thus he was falling between the Republicans on the one hand, and the Japanese on the other. Another

[1] *Times History of the War*, Part 173, p. 112.

mistake was committed when he assumed that the European powers were too preoccupied to interfere in Chinese affairs. The event proved his miscalculation when the British and Russian Ambassadors accompanied the Japanese Minister, who protested against the proposed change in the constitution on October 30th (1916).[1]

On December 12th, the restoration of the monarchy in the person of Yuan Shi Kai was announced. But already the republican opposition had broken out into definite action. A government cruiser in the arsenal at Shanghai was burnt by thirty revolutionaries. By the end of the month the province of Yunnan declared itself independent, and an army of 30,000 men marched against Yuan's Government.[2] From that date until the present time [3] hostilities between the Northern and Southern provinces of China have continued, with only intermittent periods of peace. The instability of the whole condition of Chinese political life is revealed by the fact that when Yuan Shi Kai failed to crush the insurrection in its early stage, he was deserted by the representatives of the very provinces which had urged him to mount the throne.[4]

On June 5th (1916) the President died.[5] The Parliament which had been suppressed by Yuan was revived on August 1st under the auspices of the republican or middle party.[6] But in reality it was controlled by the military leaders of the northern army. In opposition was the Young China Party at Canton supported by the navy.

Yuan Shi Kai had failed to bring the nation to a harmonious solution of the political problem by resorting to the national hostility to Japan shared by all parties. In a similar way the new government failed to link up militarists, monarchists, and revolutionaries with itself by means of a declaration of war on Germany. In reality all parties were agreed on the necessity for declaring hostilities against Germany, but partisan rivalry, and personal ambition, assisted by German intrigues prevented that step from being taken for several months. During that interval the military leaders secured the dismissal of Parlia-

[1] *Times History of the War*, Part 173, p. 116. [2] Ibid., p. 117.
[3] Spring of 1918. [4] Ibid., p. 118. [5] He was succeeded by Gen. Le Yuan Hung, who resigned the Presidency in July, 1917.
[6] Ibid., p. 120.

ment, the resignation of the President and a fleeting restoration of the Manchu dynasty in the person of the boy ex-Emperor Hsiian Tung.[1] But a split was revealed in the ranks of the military party. The military leaders of the South, who had previously declared for the restoration of monarchy, declared for the republic. A new Cabinet was created with General Tuan Chi Pui as Premier, and General Feng Kuo Chang as President. But the Parliament was not reassembled. This fact proves the strength of the military party. At the same time there is little doubt that China is not yet ready for full representative government, and in this case to possess the form would be less effective and more injurious than to be entirely without the substance. Tuan Chi Pui was the Southern leader who turned out the boy Emperor. Feng Kuo Chang was Vice-President of the former republican Government. The Cantonese revolutionaries remained in opposition, on the ground that Tuan was a militarist like the Germans.[2] Thus the factor which made for union because all parties were agreed upon it, became a cause of disunion because of the use which one party made of it. But the new government for the time being was too strong for the Southern revolutionaries. A good understanding was entered into with Japan, and war was declared on Germany on August 14th, 1917.[3]

It is yet another illustration of the impossibility of grasping any certain principles in Chinese politics that a mere friendly move towards Japan should have assisted in bringing about the declaration of hostilities against Germany. The Japanese question had helped to ruin Yuan Shi Kai, but it helped to establish Feng Kuo Chang, and Tuan Chi Pui. Indeed nothing can be clearer from the course of Chinese politics, both internal and external, during the years since the revolution than that China has not yet solved her political problem. She has not reached the first stage towards a solution. If there had been the least semblance of a natural tendency towards union, the national spirit must have been harmonized by the declaration of war, since all parties were agreed at one point upon this matter. But the forces which make for disunion in China, so

[1] *Times History of the War*, Part 173, p. 122.
[2] *Times History of the War*, Part 173, p. 127.
[3] Diplomatic relations were broken off on Mar. 14, 1917.

far as they concern the political leaders, are as strong as those which have split up Russia and are keeping her asunder. Both countries are in the hands of doctrinaire politicians who fulminate political schemes against each other, assisted by a number of self-interested people, and indeed all sections of the people are without a vision of nationhood, or a feeling of national pride, which alone can enable men to sink their personal wishes, and scheme for the good of the whole.

Since the declaration of war the hopes which were entertained that China had at length reached a position from which she could start on a course of ordered progress, have been modified.[1] Almost simultaneously Sun Yat Sen created at Canton a government in opposition to the Government at Pekin. The central Government set up at Pekin a National Council, with the object of reviving Parliamentary government on sounder lines than had been devised before. An appeal was made by the President "that the Executive Department of the Government should do away with all corruptions and practices of the former despotic Government, and advance Republican principles. . . . that the Legislative Department should study the condition of society in its work of supervision and control."[2] These two statements reach to the heart of the problem. To the corruption of officials, and the unsuitability of complete western political schemes to Chinese life must be assigned a large measure of the failure of China to evolve a suitable system of constitutional government. At the end of January (1918) the President commenced a tour of the provinces in order to ascertain the opinion of the military governors on the political situation, but he returned after visiting Chili, Shantung, and Kiangsu.[3] A proclamation issued by him at the close of 1917 calling for a cessation of hostilities had no effect upon the Southern party. The position of President Feng became increasingly weaker. There were indeed reports of his approaching resignation.[4] The Southern leaders called for the restoration of Parliament while admitting its past ineffectiveness.[5] The North continued to defeat the armies of the South whenever it met

[1] *London and China Telegraph*, May 21, 1918.
[2] *London and China Telegraph*, Jan. 21, 1918.
[3] *London and China Telegraph*, Feb. 4, 1918.
[4] Ibid., Mar. 3, 1918; May 6, 1918. [5] Ibid., April 22, 1918.

them, but was not able to bring the revolution to a decisive issue.[1] Even the military leaders were not united by the declaration of war on Germany.[2] The only thing which united the military party was the desire to crush the Cantonese party. After the negotiations between North and South broke down they urged the total subjugation of the revolutionary party.[3] The one strong man in all parties appears to be Tuan Chi Pui, who was reappointed Premier in March. It was he who brought about the creation of better feeling with Japan, and to him is largely due the success of the Northern armies.

This brief record of the long and complicated tale of China's political troubles since the revolution up to the spring of 1918 is sufficient to show that not for a long time will the internal conditions of the country be such that missions can reap their full harvest. From time to time there may even be local outbreaks of violence. The effect of China's participation in the war has not resulted in any cessation of her internal quarrels.

But to make this statement is not to deny that considerable progress has been made during the period since the war broke out. The hindrance caused by internal conflicts has been relative in character, relative to the greater success which might have been achieved if conditions had been more peaceful. It is even possible that the absence of any clearly defined spirit of nationality has assisted Christianity by preventing a revival of interest and enthusiasm for the Chinese religions such as has been witnessed among certain classes in Japan and India. It is true that in official circles there has been a marked tendency to reconstitute the worship of Heaven on the basis which it occupied under the Manchus. President Yuan Shi Kai publicly restored the worship of Heaven in Pekin at the end of 1914. A decree was passed compelling all members of the army and navy to take an oath of allegiance to the President

[1] *London and China Telegraph*, May 6, 1918; May 13, 1918; May 21, 1918.

[2] Ibid., Mar. 18, 1918.

[3] Ibid., April 29, 1918. The real point at issue at present is whether the old Parliament dissolved by Yuan shall be revived, or whether an entirely new assembly shall set up. The Cantonese favour the former policy and the military leaders the latter (*London and China Telegraph*, May 21, 1918).

and Republic in the presence of an idol, and in several instances those who refused to comply were punished.[1] An attempt was made by the Parliament in 1916 to make Confucianism the foundation of public instruction, and to place certain restrictions upon the propagation of other religions. This development was checked by an organized movement on the part of the Sino Catholic Church (Church of England Mission), the American Congregational and Presbyterian Mission Churches, the London Mission Church, the Chinese Christian Church, and the Roman Catholics, who sent up a petition against the proposal to the Government. This action was followed by the formation of the Society for Religious Liberty, supported by the Reformed Churches, Romans, Greeks, Buddhists and Muhammadans, and including in its membership over one hundred members of Parliament. A second petition was forwarded to the Government with the result that in May the proposal was withdrawn.[2]

On the other hand the religious reaction has not extended outside the ranks of the official class. The people at large have thrown off their allegiance to the old forms of worship.[3] This is a state of affairs which possesses certain dangers of its own, the great increase in concubinage,[4] with consequently evil results upon public morality, is to be partly attributed to it. But then the widespread readiness to hear the teachings of Christianity has never promised more favourable conditions, so far as the religious attitude of the people is concerned. It seems that the day when Government hostility to Christianity could make itself felt through public antipathy has passed. The present position of affairs suggests that if the Government attempted to persecute the missionaries it would meet with little support from the public.

But it is not to be supposed that the attempt to resuscitate Confucianism revealed any deliberate animosity on the part

[1] *International Review of Missions*, Jan., 1916. *The Church Missionary Review*, Sept., 1915.

[2] *The East and West*, Oct., 1917. *The Church Missionary Review*, Oct.–Nov., 1917. *The International Review of Missions*, Jan., 1918. *China Mission Year Book*, 1917, pp. 34–37, 297–299.

[3] Robert E. Spier: *International Review of Missions*, April, 1916.

[4] *International Review of Missions*, April, 1916; April, 1917.

of the Government towards the propagation of Christianity. It was rather a feature in the general reactionary progress which culminated in the abortive attempt to restore the boy ex-Emperor in July 1917. In other matters of public interest, and notably on the question of education, the official world has shown a keen desire to make use of Christian educationalists.

If the war has failed to relieve the political situation of China, by drawing together her conflicting elements, and by fostering the sense of national entity, indirectly the political position has been improved by the influence of finance. Progress in China has been hindered by shortage of money, and what should have been only a financial and commercial problem has become a political difficulty because of the necessity of borrowing from foreign countries. China's great natural resources, agricultural and mineral, are well known, but she has had no capital to develop them, and so long as foreign loans were readily negotiated by the Western nations, there was no inducement to China to attempt to raise capital from among her own people. But every foreign loan negotiated, only riveted more tightly the shackles of foreign control upon her internal affairs. The loans were guaranteed by Chinese funds which should have been used to build up her own system of finance. Moreover, they gave the Western nations an opportunity of enforcing territorial claims which amounted to the political tutelage of China.

The outbreak of war cut off the supply of money in the form of foreign loans. China has been thrust back upon her own resources. During 1914 and 1915 a loan of $24,000,000 was oversubscribed by her own people.[1] So far as the Customs and Salt Gabelle are concerned she has had nothing to complain of. The Customs returns for 1917 showed a net increase of £1,972,000.[2] The Salt Gabelle decreased by $1,813,310 on the figures for 1916, but showed an increase of $1,349,713 on the revenue for 1915.[3] In spite of the decrease in 1917 the salt revenue has handed over a surplus of $68,613,370 to the Government, it represents the largest free asset of the Government, and if it continues to grow, or even to maintain its present

[1] *China Mission Year Book*, 1916, p. 57.
[2] *Times* (*Annual, Financial and Commercial Review*), Jan. 22, 1918.
[3] *London and China Telegraph*, Mar. 25, 1918.

condition, it will go far towards removing China's financial difficulties.[1]

The financial stability of the country has been further strengthened by the agreement made with the Allies when China declared war on Germany. Payment of the Boxer indemnities has been remitted for five years, with the exception of the share of Russia who only suspended the payment of one-third of her part of the indemnity. The German and Austrian share amounting to £13,200,000 has been cancelled.[2] The result has been that the principal charges upon the Salt Gabelle have been removed, and the surplus from the salt revenue has been correspondingly increased. For the first time in her history the financial situation in China appears to be assuming a stable and prosperous condition. The significance of this fact for the future political welfare of the country needs no emphasis.

Not so favourable has been the rise in the price of silver, and the high rate of exchange. The opinion of experts seems to be divided upon the question. The basis of the currency in China is silver, and on the surface, it appears that any rise in the value of silver must have a beneficial effect upon trade and industry. So far as the import trade is concerned the effect is beneficial, since payment is made in gold, and a high rate of silver purchases more gold. But ultimately the import trade and the industrial concerns of the country depend upon the export trade, for which payment is made in silver, and the high rates discourage both export and productivity. "In a broad economic sense a falling silver market is of more benefit to China." [3]

The condition of the silver market has been made more acute by the large exports of bullion to India and other countries. During 1917, 35,000,000 ounces of silver were exported to India. Against this outgoing only 25,000,000 ounces returned from San Francisco,[4] and the remittances of Chinese people abroad

[1] *London and China Telegraph*, May 6, 1918.

[2] *London and China Telegraph*, April 2, 1918.

[3] *Times* (*Imperial and Foreign Trade Supplement*), May, 1918. *London and China Telegraph*, Feb. 4, 1918. But cf. the issue of the same Journal for Dec. 17, 1917, and Jan. 7, 1918.

[4] *London and China Telegraph*, Jan. 1, 1918.

to relations at home have been generally much less than usual, owing principally to the high rates of exchange. For some months, especially in South China, when the silver was called in to meet the stringency of the situation, financial conditions in internal transactions became difficult. But the position is becoming increasingly more easy, since it has been realized that the silver currency must be conserved. Steps are being taken to prevent bullion going abroad.[1]

Another sign of weakness has been shown in the effect of the political disturbances upon finance. The Governors of the Bank of China resigned because a loan of $700,000 was not repaid by the Military Governor of Hunan.[2] The value of the notes of the Bank of China and of the Bank of Communications has depreciated by about 35 per cent.[3] There is a general lack of confidence in the financial situation, and it is popularly believed that the Government is seizing cash reserves for the conduct of its Southern campaign. The profits of the Bank of China for 1917 showed a decrease of $1,550,000 on the two previous years. This was due to losses sustained at the branches of the bank in Yunan, Kueichon, and other disturbed areas.[4] At the same time banking enterprise shows no sign of abating its recent progressive policy. A new company called "The Chinese Merchants Trade Bank" has been formed with a capital of $1,000,000 of which $400,000 are already paid up.[5] The money has been subscribed entirely by Chinese. "The Japan-China Exchange Bank" which was formally organized on November 15th, 1917, will commence business very shortly.[6] It will be pioneered by Japanese and Chinese capital.

Railway finance has failed to produce any satisfactory results. The operation of the lines, and the plans which had been made for expansion have been hindered by the political troubles.[7]

There are also signs that the Pekin Government has not entirely broken away from the old bad desire to borrow money from abroad. Some encouragement was provided by the foreign

[1] *Times* (*Annual Financial and Commercial Review*), Jan. 22, 1918.
[2] *London and China Telegraph*, Jan. 1, 1918.
[3] *London and China Telegraph*, Jan. 14, 1918.
[4] *London and China Telegraph*, Mar. 25, 1918.
[5] *London and China Telegraph*, Jan. 7, 1918. [6] Ibid.
[7] *Times* (*Annual, Financial and Commercial Review*), Jan. 22, 1918.

banks at the time China declared war on Germany. "The Consortium Banks," excluding of course the German houses, issued a loan of Yen 10,000,000 to the Government secured on the Salt Gabelle for general administrative purposes.[1] The money is almost entirely Japanese. Earlier in the year (Jan. 1917) a Japanese syndicate had arranged another loan of $5,000,000.[2] In April (1918) the Bank of Communications negotiated a loan of Yen 20,000,000 with a syndicate of Japanese Banks, secured on the Chinese Telegraph System, with the object of improving the telegraphic communications of the country.[3] It has also been proposed to borrow Yen 20,000,000 from Japan to institute a gold currency.[4] But Japanese interests are already too firmly grounded in China, and the influx of more and more Japanese capital will have the effect of rendering more acute the already extremely delicate political relationships between the two countries, besides hindering China in that course towards self-dependence in finance which the war has encouraged, and which is so essential for her permanent welfare, for the most serious drawback from which China has suffered during the war was her own unpreparedness to make use of the opportunities presented to native trade and industry by the closing down of the foreign markets. Her own industrial and commercial system is either quite incipient in form and substance, or else it is largely in the hands of Western agents. In the one case the war found China unprepared to expand her trade, in the other case industry was affected by the commercial conditions of those countries whose agents were working the concerns in China.

Still more serious was the lack of shipping in China. She possessed no merchant marine of her own. She had no programme of shipbuilding which could be put into operation. Unlike Japan, the opportunity, not only to do her own carrying trade, but to assist that of the other nations, had to pass by, leaving China poorer by many millions sterling.[5]

But notwithstanding all these qualifications, the general

[1] *Times History of the War*, Part 173, p. 129.
[2] *Times* (*Annual, Financial and Commercial Review*), Jan. 22, 1918.
[3] *London and China Telegraph*, May 6, 1918. [4] Ibid.
[5] *China Mission Year Book*, 1916, p. 34; 1917, p. 15.

effect of the war upon the finances and commerce of China has, on the whole, been beneficial. The foreign trade has not been permanently hindered,[1] and the internal trade has only been upset in those areas where the fighting continues. The young Chinese trader, educated in the West, inheriting the business acumen which built up his father's fortune, is well able to grapple with the great openings which commerce and industry will present to China in the near future.[2]

Certain industries already established have reaped beneficial results from the war. The closing of the foreign supply of indigo, has resulted in hundreds of acres being planted with the indigo plant. Iron and steel manufactures, paper, cotton, and oil mills, match factories, the egg-producing industry, have all benefited from the shutting down of the foreign markets, the high rates of freight and exchange, the lack of tonnage and high prices abroad.[3] In the mining and smelting of antimony some large fortunes have been made by Chinese.[4] The mineral wealth of the world, which is being so rapidly depleted by the war, can be partly restored by the vast unworked supplies lying in South China.[5] The agricultural methods of the country have not been reformed for centuries, but at length the Government are awakening to the great possibilities open to Chinese agriculture and forestry. Lecturers have been dispatched to give information on these matters at all the northern railway stations.[6] When adequate attention has been paid to the water-ways and transport systems, when an attempt has been made to organize labour, capital, materials, and the supervision of industry, the good beginning already made in Chinese finance will produce amazing results.[7] But it has been pointed out

[1] *Times* (*Annual, Financial and Commercial Review*), Jan. 22, 1918. *London and China Telegraph*, April 22, 1918. *Times Imperial and Foreign Trade Supplement*, April, 1918.

[2] Professor Middleton Smith: *Times Imperial and Foreign Trade Supplement*, Mar., 1918. [3] *China Mission Year Book*, 1916, p. 41.

[4] Ibid., p. 39. The boycott of Japanese goods in 1915 also accomplished something for Chinese industries, cf. *China Mission Year Book*, 1917, p. 18.

[5] Professor Middleton Smith: *Times Imperial and Foreign Trade Supplement*, March, 1918.

[6] *London and China Telegraph*, April 8, 1918.

[7] "Still, the war has shown very plainly that the foreign trade of

that these conditions can only be introduced by the example of the Government, which must organize the administration on a sound and effective basis, and by the spread of education, which must include adequate scientific and technical instruction.[1]

So far as the general financial prospects for missionary enterprise are concerned the effects of the war promise little but good. Whatever hindrances may have been experienced through high rates of exchange, and the difficulty in transmitting supplies, there can be little doubt that the increasing financial prosperity of China will place the Chinese Christians in a position to make up, in due course, any deficit in finance which the strain of the war upon home supplies may have brought about. There is ample promise that the expanding results of Christian propaganda, carried out largely by Chinese Christians, will not be hindered by lack of funds.

China is no delicate exotic prone to shrink and wither unless constantly warmed by the rays of prosperity, but a hardy and rapidly growing plant that needs but little encouragement to expand, and is ready to adapt itself to the most unpromising circumstances."—*Times Imperial and Foreign Trade Supplement*, July, 1918. The same report emphasizes the growing demand for industrial machinery, especially in connection with arsenals, mints, railways, dockyards, leather factories, electric lighting, mining, smelting, silk and cotton spinning and weaving, rice, flour, oil, saw and paper mills, brick, cement, candle, soap, glassware and porcelain works, waterworks, and printing. Tobacco, indigo and rubber plantations have made an excellent beginning.

[1] *London and China Telegraph*, April 8, 1918.

THE CHINESE REPUBLIC AND THE MISSIONS

THE point of contact between the Government and the Missions in China lies, as in other countries, in education. It is true that the angle from which each approaches the matter of education differs from that of the others, though the results for the general good of China are much the same. The Government regards education from the standpoint of the authority concerned with the equipment of the Chinese people for intelligent citizenship and effective self-support, whether in trade, industry, commerce, or professional life. The missions regard education in the light of an agency which will be the means of opening up the young mind of China to the influence of Christianity. This difference of interest is, of course, characteristic of Government and religious education the world over, but in so far as China to-day is passing through a period of unusually rapid transition there is an absence of that friction between the two which has been characteristic of education in other parts of the world, for both the Government and Missions in China realize the urgent necessity of doing something soon for the education of the masses. They are both too absorbed by this aim to find opportunity to be jealous of each other. At the same time signs are not wanting that the usual tendency of the Government to undertake full responsibility for education will in due course appear in China.

The latest statistics available concerning the state of education in China cover the period August 1913 to July 1914. There were 108,448 schools containing 3,643,206 pupils, maintained at a cost of $35,151,361. These figures show an increase under each heading over the statistics for 1912–1913, when the returns showed 86,799 schools, and 2,905,152 pupils costing $29,284,573.[1]

[1] *China Mission Year Book*, 1916, p. 262.

A complete scheme for compulsory education has been introduced. In view of the lack of funds in China it is exceedingly ambitious. It involves an annual expenditure of $200,000,000, comprising 400,000 schools, with 40,000,000 children. The scheme is to be introduced gradually during a period of eight years. It is to begin in the province of Chili, but Shantung has already begun to introduce the policy.[1]

The whole country is to be divided into school districts, each responsible for opening the requisite number of schools, and for raising the funds for their maintenance. There will be sixteen, twenty-four or thirty of these districts in each province, which will each possess an education department. The provincial authorities will be supervised by eight high chancellors appointed by the President, and holding office in the eight national educational districts into which the country is to be divided.[2]

Until the scheme is introduced throughout the whole of the country, itinerant lecturers are to be sent into the rural districts to give the elements of learning to uneducated people. Lecturers will be assisted in each district by the appointment of one of the country gentry who is to give instruction during the absence of the lecturer.[3]

The qualifications for school instructors have been raised, and revised instructions for their work have been issued. Four women inspectors have been appointed. Primary school teachers are to be examined. In the district of Pekin several hundreds passed the test and were granted certificates. The subjects of the examination were education, Chinese language and literature, Chinese history and geography, mathematics and science. Those teachers who received less than 60 per cent. of the marks were to undergo special training and to be re-examined within six months.[4]

University education will be provided by dividing the country into six districts, each comprising three or four provinces. One University will be provided for each province.[5] A national medical college is to be opened in Pekin. Suggestions have

[1] *China Mission Year Book*, 1916, p. 265. [2] Ibid., p. 264.
[3] Ibid., p. 264. [4] Ibid., p. 265.
[5] Ibid., p. 264. [6] Ibid., p. 266.

been made for a mining college in the three eastern provinces, a college of agriculture and forestry in Pekin, a school of fishery in Hupeh, and an engineering college in Shanghai. Efforts are being made to develop forestry in the provinces.[1]

A disturbing feature in the figures supplied for 1914 is the fact that the high schools and colleges contained 36,122 students.[2] The danger of too widely extending professional and college education has been experienced in India, where much of the political unrest is fostered by lawyers and barristers who are at a loss for a livelihood. But the attention of the Chinese Government seems to be seriously devoted to the problem. An attempt is to be made to provide technical and industrial education on a large scale, not only to meet this difficulty, but to lighten the burden of poverty which crushes the country. Day, evening and Sunday schools are to be established for this purpose. A commencement has been made in seven provincial factories in Kiangsu. Schools for apprentices between the ages of twelve and twenty-four are to be opened in each factory, which is to maintain two classes containing fifty apprentices in each. Half a day will be spent in the factory, and half a day in the class-room. The course is to include Good Manners, Reading, Writing, Composition, Arithmetic, with the use of the abacus, and simple Book-keeping.[3] Apprentices who are already able to read will be permitted to take a course of two years; for others the course will be four years.[4]

If work in the factories is to include simple literary instruction, the technical schools are to provide practical training. The use of tools and machines by the students is to be encouraged. Instruction in metal, wood, cane and bamboo work, dyeing, varnishing and pottery, suitable to the conditions of local industries, is to be provided. The proceeds from the sale of the products are to be divided among the students.[5]

Whether all these excellent schemes will come into complete operation during the next few years may be doubtful. But the

[1] *China Mission Year Book*, 1916, p. 267.

[2] *China Mission Year Book*, 1917, p. 377.

[3] In the elementary day schools instruction on the teaching of Mencius is to be given, in the secondary schools the sayings of Confucius are to be studied. *China Mission Year Book*, 1916, p. 266.

[4] *China Mission Year Book*, 1917, p. 374.

[5] Ibid.

mere fact that the Chinese Government has grasped the fundamental needs of the people, and has been able to propound practical methods for supplying them, cannot fail to have widespread beneficial effects. No Government, provided its own stability is assured, can possess such ambitions without being compelled by its own initiative to put some part of the programme into operation. The most hopeful feature in the present disturbed condition of China lies in the fact that these schemes have been drawn up by Republicans who are in a manner reactionaries. The Cantonese revolutionaries are even more devoted to the cause of education than the Republicans of the North.

The key to the position of Mission schools in China is supplied by the fact that although the Government has big schemes on hand for the extension of popular and higher education, it is not in a position, through lack of funds, and lack of trained teachers to dispose of the Mission schools even if that were its object. Nor will such a stage be reached for some time to come. On the contrary, the Mission schools and colleges are favourably regarded by both the central Government and local officials, no hindrance has been placed in their way, definite assistance for their work has been offered, and in some places a desire for the co-operation of the Missions in the work of education has been expressed. The Kiangsu Provincial Educational Association has formed a committee to promote closer relations between Chinese schools and colleges and foreign teachers. At Soochow an Educational Union has been formed to include both Government and Mission schools. There is a similar Union for women teachers in Shanghai. The civil authorities of Shansi have handed over the work of education in the distrct of Fenchow to the Missionaries of the American Board.[1] In May 1917 the Ministry of Education gave notice of the recognition of Mission schools above the grade of middle schools, after an examination by the Government inspectors, and provided that the work done is of a certain standard.[2]

The chief obstacle standing in the way of the Mission schools is the necessity of maintaining a progressive standard which will meet with the advancing requirements of the Government This affects the teaching staff of the schools as well as buildings

[1] *International Review of Missions*, Jan., 1916. [2] Ibid., Jan., 1918.

and equipment.[1] At present the outlook is somewhat uncertain because the board of education has not yet decided upon the nature of the curricula for the schools, nor upon the standards which are to be reached.[2] But the matter has the attention of the Missions and of combined organizations such as the China Christian Educational Association. Local associations are being formed, affiliated with the central association.[3] They are attempting to draw up uniform curricula for schools of various grades, and they appoint boards of examiners who set papers and issue certificates to successful candidates.[4]

From the new Christian Universities and colleges an increasing supply of well trained teachers is to be expected. The scheme for a Christian university in West China is proceeding. It has received the highest commendation of the authorities in Szechwan.[5] The Fukien University College was opened in February 1916; and at Nanking a college for women has been started.[6] In Hunan a united theological college has been organized by different American Missions, and at Pekin a scheme is on hand for the amalgamation of the Union Theological College with the University.[7] Throughout the Mission Colleges and middle schools there is an increase in the number of students, but there is some falling off in numbers in the disturbed areas.[8]

Higher education, so far as the Missions are concerned, is hindered by lack of funds. The formation of union colleges does not lessen the amount which each mission has to contribute. But apart from the assistance afforded in the supply of trained teachers, the whole policy of the formation of university colleges by the Missions seems open to question. Firstly, it is difficult to prove that the cause of Christianity is materially advanced by them. So long as China needs assistance in the provision of education, whether higher or elementary, there can be little doubt that the Missions are pursuing the right policy in assist-

[1] *China Mission Year Book*, 1916, p. 257. [2] Ibid., p. 259.

[3] Five are already in existence: The Educational Association of Fukein; The Educational Association of Kwanghung; The West China Christian Educational Association; The Central China Christian Educational Association; The East China Educational Association.

[4] *China Mission Year Book*, 1916, p. 258. [5] Ibid., pp. 252, 253.

[6] Ibid., p. 254. [7] Ibid., p. 255. [8] Ibid., p. 254.

ing the Government in this work. But it is a policy of self-sacrifice, and should be recognized as such. When the Government scheme becomes fully operative, it is doubtful whether the expense of higher education, at least, ought to be incurred by the Missions. Secondly, there is the question of the future attitude of the Government to Mission schools and colleges. There can be little doubt that China will sooner or later begin to introduce the same policy which has been noticed in Japan and India. It will tend to take over the whole responsibility for education. The Mission schools and colleges will be expected to conform to Government regulations, which will not allow any privilege to Christianity so far as it takes the form of definite religious teaching. In view of both these questions the Missions may well pause before continuing in a course which must lead them on to even greater expenditure, especially in the formation of colleges and universities.

But for the present, the situation seems to be promising, in view of the need in China for education to make possible the self-expression of her people, who are pledged to self-government, and in view of the favourable attitude of the Government to Christian Educationalists. Moreover, in China the Missionary teacher is not hampered by caste troubles or racial rivalries, such as make the work difficult in India, nor is he opposed by a spirit of militant nationalism such as has been revealed in Japan. Nationalism is awake in China, but it has not yet taken the form of a desire to be quit of the foreigner. Nor again has the war produced, in the same degree, even that modified reaction against Western civilization, and Western methods as distinct from Christianity, which has been witnessed in other parts of the East. China appears to be more convinced than ever that if she is to take her place among the great nations she must continue to receive from them whatever help they can supply. It is possible that rivalry with Japan may have assisted in restraining any tendency to review Western civilization. This rivalry, although abated somewhat by Premier Tuan's policy, was made very acute by the Japanese capture of Tsing-tao, and still more by the assertion of Japan's claims in Manchuria.[1] It thus constitutes one of the few direct results of the war upon China.

[1] Still more by Japan's claims in Shantung.

In Japan and India educational missions form the principal line of contact between the Government and Christian enterprise. In China an additional meeting ground is provided by the medical missions. Medical missions are at work in both the other countries, and in the past have afforded the means of opening doors to the Gospel otherwise fast bound. Especially has this been true of the story of Christian missions in Japan. But the excellent and efficient Japanese medical school, and the Government medical service of India have to a large extent rendered unnecessary the maintenance of medical missions in those countries, save in the country districts, which the native doctors have not yet penetrated in sufficient numbers to render the assistance of the Missions unnecessary. But in China there is still ample room for the medical schools of the West, whether missionary or otherwise, not only to minister to the needs of the Chinese people, but to train the Chinese medical men of the future. It is necessary to keep these two aspects in view in estimating the work of medical missions in China and their relation to the Government.

Medical work in China is divided among three agencies—the native Chinese medical school, the foreign medical school, not attached to the Missions, and the missionary school. The earliest in the field were the Mission doctors, but it is convenient to examine first the work of the Chinese school, although it is the most recent form of medical enterprise established in China.

The formation of the National Medical Association of China was directly inspired by medical missions. Moreover it has come into existence since the war began. In February 1915 about twenty Chinese physicians attended the biennial conference of the China Medical Missionary Association. They decided to create a national medical association on similar lines, with the following objects :—

" (1) To promote good will and union among the Chinese practitioners of Western medicine.

(2) To maintain the honour and interest of the medical profession.

(3) To expedite the spread of modern medical science in China and to arouse interest in public health and preventive medicine among the people.

(4) To co-ordinate and co-operate with the existing medical forces in China, Chinese and foreign, in the working out of the above objects."[1]

The first conference of the new National Medical Association of China was held at the beginning of 1916 in Shanghai, and was attended by about eighty Chinese doctors from different parts of the country.[2] The need for such an organization was proved by the content of the resolutions passed at the conference and forwarded to the central Government. The conference urged upon the Government the necessity of registering practitioners and drug shops, in order to check the influence of unqualified men, and the sale of harmful and useless drugs; the establishment of a central Medical Board in Pekin to standardise the teaching in medical schools; to control examinations, and to issue diplomas, with the object of increasing the number of medical schools, and supervising the different agencies, Chinese and foreign already in existence;[3] the adoption of adequate measures to check tuberculosis and venereal disease; to establish a Public Health Service to instruct the people in the general laws of hygiene; to create at least ten medical scholarships from the Indemnity Fund.[4] At the second annual conference held in conjunction with the China Medical Missionary Association at Canton in 1917, a resolution was passed condemning the morphia traffic.[5]

Of the twenty-six medical institutions now giving medical instruction in China, eight are native Chinese schools. Three of these are under the control of the central Government—the Army Medical College, and the Navy Medical College, both in Tientsin, and the Medical School of the Board of Education at Pekin. Three are provincial government institutions stationed at Hangchow, for the province of Chekiang; at Soochow for the province of Kiangsu; at Canton for the province of Kwangtung. The remaining two, which are under independent control at Canton, are the Kwang Wa Medical College, and the Liang Yueh Medical College.[6]

[1] *China Mission Year Book*, 1916, p. 317. [2] Ibid., p. 318.

[3] Medical teaching is given in at least three different languages besides Chinese.

[4] *Chinese Mission Year Book*, 1916, p. 319.

[5] *China Mission Year Book*, 1917, p. 416. [6] Ibid., p. 423.

The second branch of the medical service in China consists of four colleges, largely maintained by foreign Government funds. The Japanese control the South Manchuria Medical College at Mukden; the Germans have a school of medicine at Shanghai;[1] the French maintain the Chung-fu Medical College at Canton, and the British have a School of Medicine attached to the Hong Kong University.[2]

The third type of medical institution consists of fourteen colleges controlled wholly or in part by the Missionary bodies. Ten British, eight American, and one Danish society are engaged in the work. At least two more American societies and some other British missions are expected to take up the work in the near future. The missionary Colleges include six union institutions for men at Mukden, Pekin, Tsinan, Chungfu, Hankow and Foochow, and one for women students at Pekin. Three colleges for men students under single missionary societies are situated at Hangchow, Shanghai, and Soochow, with another for women in Soochow. There are also two colleges worked in co-operation with the Chinese,—the Hunan-Yale College of Medicine at Changsha, and the Kung-Yee Medical College at Canton. In addition there is the Hachell Medical College for women at Canton.[3]

At the close of 1916 there were between 1,930 and 1,940 students of medicine in China. Of this number between 48 and 50 per cent. were enrolled in Chinese Colleges.[4] A more comprehensive idea of the extent of medical activity in China is to be obtained from the statistics supplied by the Missionary Boards. In 1915 there were engaged in the Mission Colleges hospitals and dispensaries throughout the country:[5]—

Foreign doctors	383
Foreign nurses	142
Chinese doctors	119
Chinese medical assistants	504
Chinese nurses	734

[1] This has been badly handicapped through the war.
[2] *China Mission Year Book*, 1917, p. 423.
[3] *China Mission Year Book*, 1917, pp. 422–424. [4] Ibid., pp. 424, 425.
[5] Chart supplied with the *China Mission Year Book*, 1916.

Hospitals	330
Beds	13,445
In-patients	104,418
Serious operations	23,920
Dispensaries	223
Patients	1,535,841
Itinerating circuits	90
Patients treated	60,179

The total number of patients treated in the Mission hospitals and dispensaries, and on the circuits, during 1915, was 3,065,414. Chinese contributions to the medical work of the Missions amounted to $502,742·90. These figures do not include the patients treated by Chinese or foreign agencies in other institutions.

Soon after war broke out medical activity in China found the missionary bodies hampered by the recall of many of the Mission doctors to the seat of war, and by the high price of drugs.[1] Meanwhile the new National Medical Association of China was struggling to extend native Chinese effort. The latter effort seemed capable of balancing the deficiency in mission enterprise, but with almost dramatic fitness there came to the rescue what will in the near future constitute a fourth form of medical activity in China, possessing more abundant funds than any of the other agencies at work. The China Medical Board of the Rockefeller Foundation was founded in November 1914.[2] Its immediate object is to co-operate with existing agencies attached to the Missionary Societies and other bodies, by supplementing and strengthening their work.[3] Its ultimate object is to foster the creation of a strong Chinese medical profession, which will in time assume full responsibility for medical work.[4]

The first step taken by the Rockefeller Fund was to assist the Pekin Medical College. Land, buildings and equipment were taken over entire from the London Missionary Society.[5] The new board of trustees for the college consists of representatives of the London Missionary Society, the Society for the Propaga-

[1] *China Mission Year Book*, 1916, p. 311; 1917, p. 323.
[2] *China Mission Year Book*, 1916, p. 320. [3] Ibid., p. 323.
[4] *China Mission Year Book*, 1917, p. 430.
[5] *China Mission Year Book*, 1916, p. 321.

tion of the Gospel, the Medical Missionary Association of London, the American Board, the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) and seven members of the China Medical Board of the Rockefeller Fund.[1] The three junior classes of the former Pekin College were transferred to the medical school of Shantung Christian University at Tsinanfu and total grants of $150,000 gold were made to that institution.

At Shanghai the Board proposes to establish another medical school. In the meantime it has taken over the work of the Harvard Medical School of China, which is discontinuing operations. It has undertaken to send the more promising students to finish their course in America, to continue the Red Cross Hospital of the Harvard School for two years, and to grant the school $15,000 for the year 1915–1916.

In March 1915 a sum of $16,200 gold for five years was granted to the Hunan-Yale Medical College.'[2] Grants of money have been made to several Missionary Societies for the purpose of sending out additional doctors. Six fellowships for Chinese graduates in medicine, five scholarships for nurses, three scholarships for pharmacists were founded, all to be held in America. Grants were also made to Medical missionaries on furlough to enable them to take special courses at home before returning to China.[3]

When the China Medical Board of the Rockefeller Foundation published its proposals it was feared in some quarters that the enterprise might be conducted without regard to the special claims of missionary work. But not only has the Board specifically disclaimed any such intention, in addition, the opening stages of its work, and the direction in which its funds have been spent, completely remove any such apprehensions. But the entry of this powerful organization into the sphere of Chinese medical missions, with the expressed object of ultimately placing the science and practice of medicine in China on a national and independent footing, does raise the question of the

[1] *Christian Mission Year Book*, 1916, pp. 321, 322. A sum of nearly £300,000 is to be spent on the scheme together with an annual grant of £45,000. *International Review of Missions*, Jan., 1918, p. 93.

[2] This grant has been increased by $30,000 gold. Cf. *International Review of Missions*, Jan., 1918, p. 18.

[3] *China Mission Year Book*, 1916, pp. 321–323; 1917, pp. 430–437.

future of medical missions. While it would be an exaggeration to say that the day of medical missions in China is over, yet the policy of the Board, combined with the efforts which are being made by the Chinese medical profession, point undoubtedly to the time when the missions will be placed in a position similar to that in which they find themselves in Japan and India. Moreover, it is likely, in view of the vast potentiality of the Rockefeller Fund, that this development will take place in China sooner than elsewhere. Only one influence is at work to hinder the process—the chaotic state of Chinese politics, and the pre-occupation of the Government with other matters, but the intention of the Government with regard to education foreshadows a similar policy for medical work, especially when the funds of a powerful organization are being offered to China for this purpose.

Another effect of the entry of the China Medical Board of the Rockefeller Foundation will be to raise the standard of medical education. The Missions will find it increasingly difficult to keep pace with the process. As in education so in medicine they will be compelled to withdraw gradually towards evangelistic work, and to concentrate their full energy upon that. This will be to return to their original function, but with increased funds maintained by those released from these two branches of auxiliary work, ripened by all the experience which contact with the people in educational and medical matters will have provided, and elevated in popular estimation by their efforts in these two directions. In this process the war will exert a definite influence. Less money and fewer men will be forthcoming in the immediate future. The recall of educationalists and doctors cannot but affect the policy of the missions in the long run towards retrenchment in both education and medical work. But this need not be regarded as a permanent check to missionary work. The conditions are such that the effects of the war happen to fit in with the natural course of events in China. Certain influences are indeed at work which make the enterprise of missions more difficult, but these are connected rather with the political situation in China, or the floods which have ruined large areas of the country. But as in the case of the war, these influences should not prove permanent in their results. Even in the disturbed regions of the South, with the

few exceptions already recorded, the persons and property of Western people have been respected by the combatants. In the case of the missionaries there have been some striking instances of the change of public feeling since the days of the Boxer troubles. Bishop Cassels states that in Western China the missionary has been able to pass through the most dangerous districts, he has been sought out as an intermediary between opposing parties, his home has been a place of refuge. Another missionary reports that a certain city held by Szechuan troops was being beseiged by Yunnanese troops. At the request of the magistrate and the local gentry, the missionary and the Chinese pastor advanced towards the attacking parties with a large white flag with the words "Gospel Hall," and two red crosses attached to it. The firing ceased and terms were arranged by which the Szechuan troops were allowed to evacuate the city.[1] At Chengtu, the mission buildings were damaged and a large part of the city was destroyed by fire, but the missionaries were able to shelter the people from attack, and to act as intermediaries between the three parties of contending troops. In this case the Red Cross work of the missionaries was largely influential in placing them in a position of recognized privilege.[2]

In balancing the two contradictory aspects of affairs which prevail in China, the true conclusion seems to be that for the present the disturbed state of the country will deprive Christian Missions of that full reward which the accessibility of the people promises, but the widespread readiness of all classes to listen to teaching, and of the student class especially, points surely to the day when present hindrances will have passed away. The most hopeful sign in the situation is the fact that the revolutionary programme, and the convulsions of the political parties have not involved the great masses of the people in the country at large. The Chinese revolution does not resemble the French revolution, in which the people of France were united with the politicians against the Government. Nor does it resemble the Russian revolution, except so far as chaos among the political leaders has failed to produce any uniform policy capable of combining all sections of the empire. The

[1] *International Review of Missions*, Jan., 1917.
[2] *International Review of Missions*, Jan., 1918.

Russian peasantry are divided by racial differences, they grope blindly, seeking leadership, but they have caught the spirit of their leaders to the extent of pursuing devolution as a practical policy. The Chinese revolution resembles the English revolution of 1642–1668. The politicians and soldiers fight out their quarrels, but the people are not involved. Suffering is caused by the ravages of hostile armies and by the destruction of battle, but except for the fact that the Chinaman no longer looks at affairs from the angle of the Mandarin he remains very much what he was before the revolution—a steady, industrious, placable individual. It is the outer shell of Chinese life which has changed, not the Chinaman himself. But that outer shell was scarcely Chinese. It was laid on by the Manchus, a foreign dynasty, and the Chinaman hardly stirred during the process. It was removed by the politicians, and still the Chinaman remained largely unaffected. It is this steadfastness and trueness to type which constitutes the saving hope for modern China. In spite of the seeming impasse into which the political conditions have drifted, the empire will be saved by the fact that Chinese nationhood as represented by the people cannot be submerged or shattered. The Chinaman can no more avoid being Chinese than an ant can help being an ant. Both may fight sometimes, but when the fighting is over work begins. The backwardness of China has not been due to any inherent incapacity for development in her people, but to the barrier placed against progress by the old Manchu dynasty, and the whole system of the Mandarins. Now that the Chinese are freed from that incubus, the most democratic people in the world will begin to take up their heritage in an age wherein they can find their natural setting. They have no feudal system to break up. They are not monarchists like the Japanese. They have no caste system or class prejudice like every other nation upon the earth. But they are nationalists, with a love of country and their own people, combined with a readiness to mix with other people, to work for them, and to be taught by them. There is nothing which such people cannot achieve in the enlightened ways of self-government, when they have learned the art of representative government. When, moreover, their vast resources of national wealth are opened up, and when their innate capacity for industry and trade is harnessed to

the work, China will become one of the richest producers of material benefit which has ever ministered to the wants of the world at large. Two steps have already been taken in the process. Firstly the revolution removed the foreign Manchu rule which held her back from modernity, secondly, the European war has revealed her necessities by showing up her lack of maritime and industrial power, and by throwing her back upon her own financial resources. The political problem will be solved in due course. It will be solved, by the way, in the course of building up of industrial and material prosperity, which in the meantime will gain increasingly the attention of her people.

Missions can hope for more from China in the immediate future than from either India or Japan. Now that the Manchus are gone she has fewer prejudices which can hinder the absorption of Christian teaching. There is practically a clean slate waiting to be filled in by the Christian Church in China. The Confucian system of ethics can be more readily assimilated into the Christian moral code than the philosophy of the Brahmans or the fatalism of the Muhammadans.[1] This does not mean that Confucianism is ready to made a great surrender. There are many signs that it is not. But it does mean that many of the Chinese people realize what Christianity has done for China, and are willing that its progress should continue. This opinion has been clearly stated by the Chinese Minister to America. "I hold missionary work in high regard, as do many of my fellow-countrymen. The Christian Church has not only rendered valuable service in propagating Christian doctrines, but has by her various activities contributed to the modernization of China, and under the new regime of republicanism Christianity is bound to make even more rapid progress and accomplish much more in China than she has in the past."[2]

[1] *China Mission Year Book*, 1916, p. 14; 1917, pp. 102, 189.
[2] *C.M.S. Report*, 1916–17, p. 102.

CHINA: PROGRESS OF THE MISSIONS

A SURVEY of the Mission field which attempts to forecast the probable future effects of the war is bound to take notice of effects which have been already observed. The future conditions of missionary work, like those of every other enterprise are wrapt up with the present. From influences already operating, from results already recorded the continuance of the work derives either encouragement or hindrance. For this reason considerable space is devoted to the survey of effects actually observed by the different societies and agencies working in the East. From what has been already recorded concerning the background of missionary enterprise in China, the political and economic conditions of the people, it will be apparent that any difficulty experienced during the last two or three years has arisen from causes which are not connected with the war, and which would have operated if the war had not taken place. The war has exerted but little influence upon China compared with its effects upon Japan and India. Indeed if any direct results of permanent significance are to be observed they are rather favourable to the work of foreign missions. China is being thrust back upon herself, she is realizing that national salvation cannot be awaited at the hands of other nations. One result of this realization will be her recognition of a new moral and religious inspiration to sustain the political and commercial ambitions and needs of her people. This is of course not altogether a new development in the mental condition of China, but the emphasis upon that need for self-reliance and initiative, which the war has created, cannot but increase the recognition of this anterior need. It would be a contradiction of fact to deny that the war has left Chinese missions absolutely unhindered, but the effects already observed in the field lend support to the conclusion that the hindrance will be

but temporary, consisting rather of the restriction of missionary finance, and the absence from the field of new recruits for the personnel of the missions. But this deficiency can be made good by the efforts of the Chinese Church towards self-support and self-propagation, for which the attitude of the converts and their native pastors and evangelists lends ample hope.

In 1915 the China Inland Mission possessed 976 Western missionaries, together with 1,994 native assistants. Its organized congregations numbered 807 with a total Christian constituency of 84,098.[1] In 1916 its foreign workers numbered 971, native workers 1902, organized congregations 906, and total Christian constituency 94,126.[2] Up to the end of 1917 the funds of the mission had suffered no diminution and they amounted in that year to £115,000, which represented an increase of more than £20,000 upon the greatest income ever received in the history of the society.[3] During the three years 1915–1917, although there had been a diminution in the number of missionaries, both foreign and Chinese, engaged in the work,[4] the number of converts had not decreased, nor had the mission suffered any appreciable effect from the war, "the Church had grown and its work increased."[5]

From the reports of thirteen British Missions recorded in the China Mission Year Book for 1916, in a special chapter devoted to the effects of the war,[6] it is quite clear that beyond the hindrance caused by the absence of recruits and some shortage in funds the war has produced no unfavourable effects. In the case of the Manchurian Missions—the London Missionary Society,[7] the Baptist Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Methodist Mission, the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the New Zealand Presbyterian Mission—there was no reduction in the estimates or plans for advance. The Friends Mission received more recruits during 1915 than ever before. The Church Missionary Society reported that "everything continues as in times of peace, with only slightly reduced estimates." The Church of England Mission in North China found that there was

[1] This return is incomplete.
[2] Charts supplied with the *China Mission Year Book*, 1916–17.
[3] *London and China Telegraph*, May 13, 1918.
[4] There were eight workers less in 1917 than in 1916.
[5] Ibid. [6] Ad loc., pp. 11–21. [7] Cf. Ibid., p. 80.

"practically no difference since war began." The English Presbyterian Mission reported in similar terms, though it did not know what the effect of the war might be later. The Canadian Presbyterian and Methodist Missions had been compelled to face no reduction save in building estimates.

Of the Continental Missions, the Danish Lutheran Mission, the Norwegian Lutheran Mission, and the Norwegian Mission Society had not been compelled to meet any special difficulties. The Swedish Baptist Mission experienced some difficulty at the beginning of the war owing to the fact that communications with the home board were severed, but the conditions have since been favourably readjusted. Even the German Missions, which together possess a foreign staff of 312 workers, have not experienced any permanent difficulty, with the exception of the Berlin Mission, they report that "on the whole they have not lost but gained."[1]

The reports of the American Missions in 1916 were even more favourable, with perhaps one exception. Bishop Roots of the American Church Mission said:— "As to the effects of the war on mission work I do not see that there has been any obvious effect on the work with which I am connected. . . . I do not observe any specific effect on the Chinese Church, or on non-Christians. . . . Everybody anticipated that such a war as the present, lasting so long as this has already lasted, would have brought missionary work almost anywhere to a standstill, and would have discredited the whole cause of Christian missions. The fact that such fears have thus been to a great extent proven to be unfounded affords ground for most serious reflection." The Methodist Episcopal Mission reported that the favourable exchange-rate had assisted the finances of the mission. The American Board had received more recruits, probably owing to the closing down of the Society's work in Turkey. The American Baptist Society said that the Chinese workers had raised the spiritual tone of their preaching, they now made their appeal on the ground of Christ's influence on the soul, not on the ground of what Christianity has done for the West. On the other hand the Methodist Episcopal Mission said that its plans for advancement were all in abeyance for the present.

[1] *China Mission Year Book*, 1917, p. 72; cf. also pp. 86, 87 and 97.

The general report issued in the China Mission Year Book for 1917 shows that no change in the main course of events had been experienced during the year 1916. It stated that "outwardly the missionary movement had suffered less than might have been expected from the war. The work progresses on the whole about as usual except for the fact that building operations have almost entirely ceased, that the number of missionary recruits has fallen off considerably, and that many missionaries who have returned to Europe on furlough are being detained in their home lands. This fact has materially relieved the treasuries of the Missionary Societies affected, and has generally made possible the carrying on of their work in China without retrenchment."[1]

Of still more striking significance is the fact that in spite of retrenchment caused in some cases by lack of funds and lack of men, seventy-six new mission stations were opened by the Protestant Societies during 1916, and the early part of 1917. Against this figure must be placed the list of stations, numbering thirty-two, which do not appear in the returns for 1917. But the net gain of forty-four new stations constitutes a remarkable tribute to the vitality of Chinese missions amid war conditions.[2]

In the same way the statistical returns from China amply confirm the verbal reports of the mission secretaries.

	1914	1915	1916
Communicant Members . . .	253,210	268,652	294,825
Total Christian Constituency . .	[3]	526,108	595,468

Even more remarkable are the reports which have come from the Roman missions. For 1915 over 100,000 conversions were reported. This is the largest number ever recorded. The total Roman Catholic constituency numbered 1,788,383.[4] These figures cannot be accepted with complete confidence, since it is not certain what actually constitutes a conversion, but when due allowance for hasty work has been made, the

[1] Ad loc., pp. 71, 72.

[2] *China Mission Year Book*, 1917, p. 307.

[3] The total Christian constituency for 1914 has not been reported. Incomplete details are to be found in the statistical tables of the *China Mission Year Book*, 1915.

[4] *International Review of Missions*, 1917.

report is remarkable, when it is remembered that between 200 and 300 French Roman Catholic missionaries have been recalled for service in the French army,[1] and that nearly all the Roman missions, including the Italian and Spanish sections, have suffered from lack of funds.

Since the Revolution of 1911 the attitude of the Chinese generally, towards the missionaries and their message, has completely changed. There can be little doubt that this is largely due to the removal of the influence of the Manchu and Mandarin Government. The Chinaman, who was regarded by the world as an unmovable Conservative towards all forms of change, an obscurantist towards all forms of modern progress, and a fanatical upholder of the Confucian moral and religious system has proved himself to be at least as ready as theAthenian to hear the new doctrine. But he has gone further by showing a spirit of serious inquiry which proves that the new attitude towards Christianity is no mere interest in the religious thought of the western people in whom he recognizes the prophets of his material salvation, nor has this favourable attitude been adversely affected by the war, except in a very few localities.

All classes have come under the influence of the new attitude.[2] The higher officials of the provinces,[3] the country gentry,[4] the substantial merchants of the towns,[5] as well as the masses of the country people, who formerly were regarded as more intolerant towards the missions than the urban people,[6] have shown a willingness to hear the Christian religion expounded, and to place themselves under instruction.[7] To this fact must be largely attributed the success of the evangelistic campaign of recent years, and the upward movement shown in the missionary statistics. This remarkable revolution in public opinion is not confined to one province or district. It has appeared in Chekiang, Hunan, Kiangsu, Kwangsu, Szechwan, Yunan, areas in which the revolutionaries of the South are influential, as well as in the more settled districts of the North. It constitutes an

[1] *International Review of Missions*, 1916.

[2] *Christian Mission Year Book*, 1917, pp. 165–175, 260, 261, 289, 290. *International Review of Missions*, July, 1915, pp. 373, 374.

[3] *China Mission Year Book*, 1917, pp. 85, 86, 124, 125.

[4] Ibid., p. 85. [5] Ibid., p. 85.

[6] *China Mission Year Book*, 1917, p. 102. [7] Ibid., p. 256.

unimpeachable basis for the claims already put forward as to the peculiar readiness and fitness of China for the propagation of the Gospel.

An illuminating commentary on the attitude of the Chinese people towards Christianity is provided by a long list of books on sale in China during 1916, catalogued in the "China Mission Year Book 1917."[1] A general idea of the kind of books which are being provided by missionary agencies is afforded by the following table. The figures are based upon a classified Index drawn up by the Christian Literature Society of China.[2]

	Books	Booklets	Total
Religion in general	2	0	2
Natural Theology	2	0	2
Bible	170	31	201
Doctrinal	101	45	146
Devotional, Practical	119	73	192
Homiletics	38	37	75
Church	32	32	64
History	12	2	14
Science and Christianity	10	8	18
Hygiene	10	13	23
Ethics	15	19	34
Tales or Narratives	58	95	153
Biographies	58	72	130
Methods of Education	7	0	7
Miscellaneous	16	49	65
	650	476	1126[3]

It will be observed that books on the Bible are most numerous. In addition, over 4,000 copies of a translation of Hastings' Bible Dictionary have been ordered.[4] Large numbers of Dr. Halloch's Bible Concordia, a three-volume work containing a thousand pages in each volume, have been sold.[5]

As in Japan and India the Forward Movement Evangelistic Campaign has been conducted in China during the war years. It was singularly fortunate that at a time when the ordinary resources of the Missions were placed under considerable

[1] *China Mission Year Book*, 1917, pp. 364–367. [2] Ibid., pp. 445–453.
[4] *China Mission Year Book*, 1917, p. 448.
[3] The one volume edition.
[5] *China Mission Year Book*, 1916, p. 294.

strain, that plans had been already formulated in all these countries to conduct a great aggressive campaign. The Church was found prepared when the day of testing came. Any possible adverse effects of the war have in a large measure been prevented by the success of these campaigns. In no country have the effects of the Forward Movement been more conspicuous or more successful than in China. The Movement began in the spring of 1913, and spread to Japan and India. In India its effects so far have not been so great, nor its results so decisive as in China and Japan, because the mass-movements were already in full operation, and largely supplied the evangelistic needs of the situation. In Japan the movement has perhaps assumed more complete proportions in the way of being fully nation-wide, but the campaign in China is not yet ended, and in no country are the methods more thorough or more carefully thought out than those which the leaders of the movement have adopted in China.

Two separate campaigns were carried through in China during 1914–1915. Mr. Eddy conducted a campaign in twelve Chinese cities amongst the educated classes, and especially among the students,[1] and Mr. Eddy and Professor Robertson instituted a general Evangelistic Campaign in the province of Fukien. During the summer of 1914 eleven preliminary conferences were held in different parts of China, in which emphasis was laid upon adequate preparation by means of intercession, the study of methods, and plans for following up results after the campaign was over and by the aid of organizied Bible study and social service.[2]

Mr. Eddy's campaign for students, officials, gentry, merchants and other educated people was conducted from September to December 1914 in Tintsu, Pekin, Paokingfu, Changshu, Wuchang, Hangchow, Foochow, Amoy, Honkong, Canton, Shanghai, and Nanking.[3] The audiences numbered 117,605, more than 10,600 men were registered as inquirers, of whom

[1] In 1913 over 4,000 were enrolled as inquirers and 300 were baptized. This number exceeds the total for work among students during the whole of the previous century. *Christian Mission Year Book*, 1916, p. 228.

[2] *China Mission Year Book*, 1915, pp. 136, 137. [3] Ibid., p. 137.

nearly 8,000 were afterwards enrolled in classes for Bible study, meetings were also held for women in some places.[1] After the campaign was over a number of resolutions comprising an estimate of the value of different methods pursued, together with recommendations for the future, were published by a committee appointed for this purpose.[2]

The campaign in the province of Fukien was organized by a Provincial Evangelistic Committee, representing the six missions at work in the province, with two Executive Secretaries, one a foreigner and the other a Chinese, appointed for one year, to prepare and follow up the work. Local committees were set up in thirteen of the largest cities of the province in which the campaign was to be conducted, six months before it began. By them Bible-study leaders and personal workers were trained, points of contact and friendly relations with the men they desired to influence were established. In addition, a three days training conference was held by Mr. Eddy and the Chinese Evangelists, at which instruction was given in the methods of conducting meetings, Bible-class leaderships and the conservation of results. About 600 native Christian workers attended the conference. After the training conference was over, they remained in Foochow and Amoy to witness the opening of the campaign in these cities, and after the meetings were ended they were despatched to the other cities, where the campaign was begun by them, after a further preparation of a week or ten days. For the work in the eleven prefectural cities five groups of speakers were chosen, consisting of one science lecturer and one evangelist in each group. The five science lecturers were Westerners and the five Evangelists were Chinese. Four of the Evangelists were men of outstanding influence in Chinese circles. They included Mr. C. T. Wang, formerly Vice-President of the first Republican Senate, and now General Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association in China, and Pastor Ding Li-mei, the founder and leader of the Chinese section of the Student Volunteer Movement.[3] The campaign opened with

[1] *International Review of Missions*, July, 1915; Jan., 1916.

[2] *International Review of Missions*, July, 1915, pp. 371–381. *China Mission Year Book*, 1915, pp. 161–164.

[3] *China Mission Year Book*, 1916, p. 229.

lectures on science at which tickets of invitation to the evangelistic meetings were distributed. At the close of the meetings the names of inquirers were taken, who were immediately organized into Bible-classes.[1]

The preparation for the campaign was not confined to those who were responsible for its conduct. Special advertisements were published in the newspapers and on posters. Some months before the opening meetings took place the Provincial Governor voluntarily offered to issue a proclamation calling attention to the campaign, and to send a message to each prefectural magistrate, containing a list of the addresses and dates of the meetings, and asking them to assist the local Committees to secure halls, funds, and attendance. The interest was taken up by officials, educationalists, business men and gentry, who rendered valuable assistance to the committees. The Churches and congregations also assisted in the preparation by regular prayer meetings and special sermons, together with training classes for Bible-study lecturers and Evangelistic workers. Throughout all the preparations emphasis was laid not upon securing large meetings, but upon following up results achieved.

The attendance at the meetings numbered 134,000 with a larger proportion at the evangelistic meetings than at the science lectures. The inquirers numbered 9,230, of whom 7,800 were men, including prefectural magistrates, governors of schools, officials, leading business men and gentry.[2] A marked feature of the campaign has been the vigorous attempt made to follow up the results and relate them to forthcoming efforts, not only by interesting the converts and inquirers in the work, but by drawing up resolutions for future work based upon the experience of the campaign.[3]

During the greater part of 1915 and throughout 1916 the China Continuation Committee of the Edinburgh Congress, and the Evangelistic Campaign Committees have devoted themselves to the organization of the results achieved in the 1914 campaign, and in laying plans for future work. Arrangements were made

[1] *China Mission Year Book*, 1915, pp. 144, 145.

[2] *China Mission Year Book*, 1915, pp. 145–147. Cf. pp. 147, 160 for detailed reports of the work in the different cities.

[3] *China Mission Year Book*, 1916, pp. 174–184.

for a week of national effort in the early part of 1917. But the evangelistic impulse continued to operate in the spheres of the different Missions throughout 1915 and 1916. The American Board conducted a six weeks evangelistic forward movement in twelve centres around Pekin in 1915. The preliminary meetings were attended by 30,000 people, and the evangelistic meetings attracted 20,000.[1] Voluntary evangelistic work was conducted by Chinese Christians at many stations of the China Inland Mission.[2] A provincial campaign was conducted in Hunan in the autumn of 1915.[3] The Young Men's Christian Association held meetings in Shansi during 1916.[4] The general movement is spreading to the country districts where the missions are taking up the work of itineration and evangelization with increased interest.[5]

The first stage in the national movement was conducted between January 28th and February 4th, 1917. In Pekin the 524 meetings were conducted by 543 men and 332 women, representing 29 per cent. of the Church membership. An audience of 61,000 was gathered together, 2,000 inquirers were registered, and 336 Catechumens have been enrolled. In Hunan 33 per cent. of the Church membership were engaged on the work. In Manchuria 30 per cent. or 6,000 voluntary workers delivered the message of the Campaign to 90,000 people in 1,000 villages. Most of the provinces reported that about 30 per cent. of the Christians had taken part in the campaign, though some reached 74 per cent., and a few 100 per cent. In some cases the percentage was as low as five.[6] A similar effort, to be made at the beginning of 1918, was suggested.

The Evangelistic Forward Movement is important and significant for two reasons, in the first place it proves that the attitude of China towards Christianity remains favourable in spite of the fact that the adoption of Western political schemes at the Revolution has not so far brought peace and progress to the country. In the second place it reveals the vitality of the Chinese Church. Without the co-operation, not only of Chinese

[1] *China Mission Year Book*, 1916, p. 77.
[2] Ibid., p. 154. [3] Ibid., 1917, p. 123. [4] Ibid., p. 245.
[5] Ibid., pp. 192–225; 1917, pp. 357–365.
[6] *China Mission Year Book*, 1917, p. 343 and *International Review of Missions*, Jan., 1918.

pastors, and leading Christians, but of the general body of the Church members the Campaign would have been impossible on the scale which it reached. For some years now the most experienced missionaries have maintained that Christianity could never make rapid progress until the native Chinese Christians took up the work, and that its success was assured if they did. The Evangelistic Forward Movement has proved the soundness of the contention. The Christian Church in China is passing rapidly to the phase of self-propagation.

This development is not confined to the special campaign of the Forward Movement. From every part of the field the missionaries report that their converts increasingly take up the work of self-propagation.[1] Just as the diversion of foreign capital and foreign trade from China has thrown the Chinese back upon themselves in the matters of finance and industry, so the check in the supply of Western recruits for the missions cannot fail to throw a larger burden of the work upon the Chinese Christians, and if in finance and industry the Chinese have shown themselves capable of carrying on their own affairs, still more have the Chinese Christians proved themselves willing and able to carry on the work of evangelization. Several striking instances of personal zeal and devotion have been reported. The two sons of the late Governor of Chekiang are now leaders in Church affairs and Y.M.C.A. work. Two Chinese medical men attached to the Chui Wei army conduct evangelistic work among both officers and men, and distribute Christian literature. The General commanding the sixteenth division of the regular army invites a pastor once a month to hold a service for his officers, and supplies them with copies of the Scriptures.[2] Mr. Chan Len-bai, an official and an editor, since becoming a Christian, has devoted half his income to the work of the Church He urges upon Christian Chinese to attempt to bring at least one other person a year into the Christian Church.[3]

Side by side with the growth of native enterprise in evangelism the development of self-support goes on. In 1915 the total contributions of Chinese Christians amounted to $450,349·95,

[1] *China Mission Year Book*, 1916, pp. 75, 77, 133, 148, 149, 151, 205; 1917, pp. 123, 126, 172, 210, 245, 276, 286, 288.

[2] *China Mission Year Book*, 1917, pp. 286, 287. [3] Ibid., p. 290.

in 1916 they amounted to $469,754·53. The Manchurian Missions, the Rhenish Mission, and the Berlin Mission reported that Chinese contributions would be considerably increased as a result of the war.[1] The Rhenish Mission obtained more support from native Christians than seemed possible if there had been no war, and the Berlin Mission, which was handicapped in 1915 by the failure of supplies from Germany, was rescued from distress by the contributions of its congregations. The Disciples of Christ Mission found that more had been received from Chinese sources for both churches and schools.[2] The converts of the Canadian Methodist Mission supplied funds for the support of eight new workers.[3] In the field of the Methodist Episcopal Church self-support "developed to a considerable extent" during 1915. Ten of its churches pay all expenses, including the pastors' salaries and church expenses. "The idea of self-support is growing among the Chinese Christians and they are coming more and more to feel that the Church is their own and that they must depend on themselves and not on the help received from the foreign country, for the support and propagation of Christianity."[4] Steady progress towards self-support was reported by the Wesleyan Methodist Mission,[5] and the Presbyterian Mission (U.S.A.).[6] The Reformed Church of U.S.A. in the same year organized a scheme whereby the Chinese synod and the Mission should share in the payment of evangelistic workers. There was a general increase in contributions throughout its sphere.[7] A similar attempt to organize the contributions of Chinese Christians was reported by the Christian and Missionary Alliance.[8] The French Mission was devoting special attention to this sphere of the work,[9] and the Young Men's Christian Association report that the growth of self-support is most encouraging.[10]

The growing interest of the Chinese Christians in the support of their own churches is manifest all over China. In the province of Chekiang contributions towards buildings and equipment are recorded on a scale not deemed possible ten years ago;[11]

[1] *China Mission Year Book*, 1916, pp. 13, 16, 17.
[2] Ibid., p. 73 [3] Ibid., p. 105. [4] Ibid., p. 114.
[5] Ibid., p. 123. [6] Ibid., pp. 133, 131. [7] Ibid., pp. 138, 139.
[8] Ibid., p. 154 [9] Ibid., p. 158. [10] Ibid., p. 161.
[11] *Christian Mission Year Book*, 1917, p. 91.

but the poorer members of the Church are the most generous givers.[1] In the province of Chili increased emphasis upon the necessity of giving is producing satisfactory results.[2] Native contributions continue to grow in the province of Fukien.[3] In Kiangsu the Churches are contributing with increased liberality, while in the province of Kiangsi there is "marked improvement"[4] in self-support.[5] The provincial report for Kweichow states that in spite of the poverty of the people contributions are being received for all forms of the Church's work.[6] In Shantung self-support is increasing.[7]

Among the special efforts recorded is the sum of $20,000 raised by Chinese Christians of Canton at home and abroad for a new church building. The non-Christian military and civil governors of Kwangtung are among the subscribers. At Shanghai the American Mission Church has raised the sum of $25,000, and the London Society has obtained or received promises for two-thirds of a sum of $10,000 for building purposes. The same society in Pekin has secured $20,000. At Tientsin the Chinese Christians have contributed $10,000 for the work of the native Church, and in Macao they are making plans for raising $30,000.[8] Most of the Shanghai Churches pay the salaries of their pastors.[9] A committee on self-support has been appointed by the China Continuation Committee.[10]

The development of self-propagation and self-support are accompanied by progress towards the ideal of the creation in China of a native self-governing Church. Under the auspices of the Anglican Missions a native Church of China (Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui) has been in existence for some years. On December 11th, 1917 the election of the first Chinese assistant-bishop took place in Chekiang. The new bishop is Archdeacon T. S. Sing, the son of the first priest to be ordained by the Anglican Church.[11] Several of the Missions have developed similar self-governing institutions, but the need of the Church for native leadership is almost universal.[12] That incapacity

[1] *China Mission Year Book*, 1917, p. 96.
[2] Ibid., pp. 101, 105. [3] Ibid., p. 114. [4] Ibid., p. 170.
[5] Ibid., p. 191. [6] Ibid., pp. 201, 202. [7] Ibid., p. 221.
[8] Ibid., p. 387. [9] Ibid., p. 452. [10] Ibid., p. 388.
[11] *London and China Telegraph*, March 11, 1918.
[12] *China Mission Year Book*, 1916, p. 455.

to provide men capable of taking the helm which has been revealed in political and commercial life has been revealed among the Christian Churches. As in the case of the political and commercial aspirations of the people, the desire for indigenous institutions and methods is strong, but its realization is being hindered by the lack of an educated ministry capable of undertaking greater responsibility.[1]

But the situation is not without signs of progress. The London Mission reported that in 1915 the Chinese were assuming fuller control of the work.[2] The Presbyterian Mission (U.S.A.) reported that self-government was developing and the people were assuming more responsibility.[3] The Reformed Church (U.S.A.) and the Friends' Mission returned similar reports.[4] Some of the city associations of the Y.M.C.A. are organized on a self-governing basis.[5] In the province of Chili conditions are even more hopeful. During 1916 the increased fitness of the Chinese leaders enabled the Mission to transfer to them more authority and responsibility.[6] In the province of Shansi progress towards self-government was also reported.[7]

But however backward the Chinese Churches may be at present, whether in the desire to assume responsibility or in fitness to undertake it, there can be little doubt that the future development of missionary work must move along these lines. The war will foster this process. Its development will prove one of the beneficial results of the war. Too long, in China as elsewhere, have the missionary societies kept the native Churches in tutelage. The backwardness of the Oriental peoples has in a measure been responsible, but not altogether. No human organization, no human being likes to contemplate handing over power and influence and authority to others. It is easy to imagine, if not to invent specious reasons why the surrender should not be made. It must be confessed, that until quite recent times the missionaries have sometimes been deluded by a somewhat exaggerated notion of their own importance in the work of spreading the knowledge of Christ abroad in the East. Perhaps still greater hindrance has been created by the

[1] *China Mission Year Book*, 1917, pp. 284–286.
[2] *China Mission Year Book*, 1916, p. 81. [3] Ibid., pp. 135, 202.
[4] Ibid., pp. 138, 158. [5] P. 161.
[6] *China Mission Year Book*, 1917, p. 105. [7] Ibid., p. 214.

attitude of the home boards. Realizing a heavy responsibility to the public for the large sums of money contributed to the work of foreign missions, conscious of many deficiencies in the missionary personnel, ignorant of the true calibre of the Christian convert, they have been prone to consider at too great length, to delay unduly the policy of devolution which is now recognized as the soundest method in the high diplomacy of Missions.

But, indeed, there is nothing new in such a policy. In the evangelistic methods of St. Paul it was placed in the very foreground of the work. So soon as the baptism and confirmation of his converts had been assured, he organized them on a self-governing basis, free from all personal control but the general supervision which he could exercise either by itinerating round the scenes of former labours himself, or by sending travelling superintendents like Timothy or Titus with ample powers for supervision.

From this attitude of hesitation and indecision the home boards as well as the missionaries in the field have been suddenly shaken by the war. Even in pre-war days the problem had been urgent, because while the foreign work was constantly extending, the home contributions seemed to be approaching that point beyond which the raising of more money would become an impossibility. Although the war has undoubtedly fostered a spirit of generosity and self-sacrifice at home on a scale hitherto unknown, yet it is doubtful whether Missions can continue to look even for the same amount of support in men and money as formerly. The mere physical necessities of other spheres of national life and work, both in Europe and America, will absorb the spare funds of the nations and engage the efforts of their most enterprising men and women.

But no undue alarm on behalf of Missions should be felt. Christianity is not wrapt up with any nation or organization, or enterprise. It has always impressed its advocates in times of ruin and distress by a surprising vitality, which has revealed itself in the form of an adaptability to war conditions, a kind of innate opportunism which has saved it from extinction under the most trying circumstances, whether they have been persecutions or invasions, or the far more dangerous influence of corruption in ecclesiastical circles. The record of the achievement of

Christianity in China, its long and trying struggle against the old regime, its marvellous occupation of official and public opinion under the revolution, lend support to the conviction that a European war which has hardly influenced China beyond calling forth from her boundaries a few tens of thousands of labourers, can have little effect upon the spread of Christianity among the people, beyond what is entirely beneficial—the gradual removal of foreign control in evangelization, finance, and the management of Church affairs. The war will hasten the emancipation of Eastern Christianity from western control, and in no country will this movement be more complete than in China, where an ancient people, quiet, industrious, capable, inheriting an indelible nationality, which is unaccompanied by some of the drawbacks of nationality, are girding themelves with all the knowledge of the Western world, but who in the process, are realizing some of its defects, and in the matter of politics, at least, are working out in their own way a political system adapted to their own needs. It will be the same with Christianity. They will take what is Western in its outward form, to the extent to which it is useful, for the rest they will develop their own Christian system. In this process we cannot but believe that they will have the assistance of that Spirit of God, who in the poetical figure of the Scriptures brooded on the deep and brought order out of chaos at the world's foundation. There is an imperishable truth enshrined within that metaphor. All great revolutions of this world, all great discussions, all great inventions are under the control of the world's Creator. In China the re-birth of a nation istaking place. Its people number 400,000,000. Can we suppose that the Spirit of order and progress and enlightenment will leave them to blunder unassisted to Salvation? Beside the regeneration of China, even the European war appears small. It cannot be that even that war can hinder the work of God in this vast and stupendous enterprise.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE ORIENT

THE effect of the war has been to increase the self-consciousness and self-respect of the East. The Orient now knows that it has a contribution to make to the West. That was the meaning of the Indian disembarkation at Marseilles—at Marseilles, the historic gateway which admitted Christianity to the West, and began the life-story of modern Europe—that was the meaning of the Japanese fleet in the Mediterranean, the ancient channel of Oriental influences flowing westward.

These phenomena are but a continuation of the process begun by the Japanese when they stemmed the tide of western aggression by defeating Russia in 1905. That tide had flowed eastwards ever since John Sobieski's victory over the Turks at Vienna in 1683, though signs of the coming ebb were to be seen in the Mutiny of 1857 and the Boxer troubles of 1900.

The result of the war will be a quickening of oriental life at its springs. The new vogue will be the oriental way of doing things, but above all the oriental way of thinking things. The East will take the methods of Europe and America, but it will strip and pare them, and especially will it add to them whatever, in its new-born self-confidence, it knows it can do better. Even before the war we were told that the Japanese surgeons were doing things in a way unknown to the West, and with some results so far not achieved here.[1]

But the most important change will take place in their methods of thought. Until western thought was disseminated in the East the Orient spent the centuries in meditating on what the ancient systems and workers had taught them, or else in sleeping under the impression that nothing more in the sphere of thought or religion remained to be discovered. There

[1] Sir Frederick Treves: *The Other Side of the Lantern* (Popular Edition), p. 396.

came a period when the East became aware that there were things in the West to be learned. The East awakened and went to school again, but learned its lessons like a boy *learning* Euclid's propositions. The result has been the appearance of a pseudo-western civilization, learned by rote, and fitting Orient life like a garment made of papier-maché. It could never be made to fit the East simply because there was no fitting relation with the oriental body which it enclosed. And yet that body was alive. It began to assert itself. The garb of Western civilization began to crack from the stress of the heat and life stirring within. The East realized the fact that it was being enwrapped in an extremely uncomfortable covering. It realized that the garment was not only uncomfortable, it was also unhealthy. If it was uncomfortable to be compelled to get knowledge by learning English or German, it was also unhealthy because oriental functions were being disorganized. But the new garment was tightly clasped. It could only be removed by physical convulsion. Consequently we witnessed the seizure of Port Arthur and Tsingtao by Japan, and political unrest in India.

We are still in the epoch when the process of shedding all that is non-essential in western culture is being continued. But the war has visibly hastened the process, by suddenly revealing to the East and to the Western world in more dramatic form than either thought possible, the fact that the East has a definite contribution to make to the West. It may be some time before this contribution will be received in Europe, before even it is ready for transportation, but it is already being developed in Eastern lands, and willy-nilly the West must recognize it there.

Now all this is of vital importance for Christianity. It means that henceforth western forms and formulas will be suspect. The East will try the Faith like everything that comes from the West, to see what spirit it is of. Whatsoever is spiritual, and therefore whatsoever is universal will be seriously considered, and in due course woven into the new oriental web of life. Nothing but the *spirit* of Christianity, nothing short of Christ the *universal* Man will have a chance of life in the Orient of the future.

What does this mean for our missionary work ? Surely

the shedding of Christian *dogma* and *western* forms of divine worship. Indeed the phrase Christian dogma is a contradiction in terms. Christ and Christianity are universals. Dogma was originally a mere individual way of saying things about Christ, an individual interpretation or definition or shibboleth which was accepted by a Church simply because of the similarity of thought and expression existing between members of the same race. Within this limitation it has, of course, a function to perform ; but as a system capable or even worthy of universal acceptance, it is no more suitable and no more logical than such a phrase as Christian syntax or Christian chemistry. The term Christian dogma only means Western dogma, and that is only another way of saying that Christian dogma as at present constituted is what the West thinks about Christianity. The very root meaning of the word gives the clue.

To assume that Christian or Western dogma is capable of universal acceptance is to assume that the East and West must needs think alike. Our knowledge of mental conditions in Europe ought to have taught us long ago that this is not the case. One moment's reflection on the inner meaning of the Reformation ought to have shown that even in the West the term Christian dogma had no universal significance as a definition of European thought about Christ. Either side may reply by saying, " Precisely so, this is always what we have maintained, we don't want Christian dogma, we need ' Catholic doctrine,' or ' Protestant truth.' " But this only makes confusion in the Oriental mind worse. It draws the belt of the papier-mâché garment more tightly, and widens the cracks, for it means that we are attempting to shape eastern religious thought, not even on the comparatively broad pattern of European thought, but according to the narrower model of Italy or Germany, or England or Scotland.

The fact is that the East possesses its own methods of thought, its own means of interpretation, its own way of self-expression. Our part is to give it universal concepts and leave it to work them into its own life in whatever manner seems best. Our business is to give to the Oriental Christ, to teach Christ as we were taught Christ from the lesson book of the Gospels, to teach Him as the universal Man, to speak of His Spirit as the universal God. For the rest the East can find its own dogma

its own creeds. There is nothing save our patronizing lack of confidence in the Oriental Churches to prevent our standing aside while an Indian, a Japanese, a Chinese scheme of belief or dogma is drawn up. We are, of course, afraid of the heresies. There may be Gnostics, or Monarchians, or Arians only awaiting some lack of vigilance on the part of the western guardians of the Oriental churches to spring up and wreck our work. Indeed we know that already the Hindu and the Buddhist are taking steps to dress some of their activities, if not their beliefs in Christian garb, in order to check the spread of Christianity. It is indeed wise to remember past history, but also to keep an eye on modern developments. We do not remember enough history, and we fail to gaze intently upon modern movements. The creeds were invented by the Western Church to save the souls of the simple from the heretics. True—but the creeds were not drawn up by the Judaistic Christians who originally preached the faith. They were drawn up by the Greeks to meet Greek needs, in the first instance. The fact that the substratum of the Nicene definition was the creed of Cyril of Jerusalem provides no contradiction. Titus and Hadrian had removed all vital Jewish influences from Jerusalem, and if the Christians flourished there they were only allowed to do so by widening the contrast with Judaism.

We forget also the meaning of St. Paul's quarrels with the Apostolic church at Jerusalem. His life and teaching formed a vindication of the rights of the Gentile races to form their own creeds and their own form of worship. Christ he preached to them—but not as St. Peter preached Him in Palestine or Syria—and having preached Christ he left the interpretation, and the development of Church life to themselves, guided only by some letters which were invariably expressed in different terms to the different churches. The forensic tastes of Rome form the background to the epistle to the Romans, just as the letters to the Corinthians reflect the more speculative attitude of the Greeks towards life.[1]

Moreover the intellectual interpretation of historic Christianity was worked out by the Gentile Churches while they were being converted. The East to-day demands the same freedom.

[1] There is considerable speculation in S. Paul's teaching on the Resurrection body in 1 Corinthians xv.

So far as the Western Church fears to leave the matter to her, to that extent she reveals her doubt about the content of the Christian message—she doubts Christ, for our Gospel teaches that He is the Spirit of life, and from this teaching the Western Church should take confidence that the life which is Christ cannot be stifled or lost by the Oriental mind when it seeks to interpret Him, nay that life will vivify and invigorate the intellect of the East as it has given life and movement to that of Europe.

Our worst difficulty lies in our sectarian habits of thought created by the fact that we are Anglicans, or Presbyterians, or Wesleyans, or Baptists. But these differences must, sooner or later go, if not by a process of fusion, at least by one of comprehension, and if we are afraid to let the East take our different systems of Christian thought to strip and pare them and reshape them to its use, then the future of missions is doomed, so far as the spread of Christianity depends upon Christian enterprise. The Western Churches must unself themselves in the presence of the awakening self-hood of the East. A man does not stretch himself upon his neighbour's bed, neither can the Churches be free to set themselves at ease in the homes of Indian or Japanese or Chinese religious instincts. Self-assertion stands condemned so soon as it conflicts with the development or comfort of others. In corporate life or thought it has no place save as a contribution, to be combined with the contributions of others, and in a corporate venture, in the spread of a corporate ideal and way of life like Christianity, the more frequent requirement is for the absolute repression of self, lest the full-grown self-hood of him who teaches, checks and finally stifles the young and growing self-hood of him who is taught.

So also when we fear the effects of modern religious movements in the East we fail to perceive that they aim a more effective blow at their own religious systems than at Christianity. For the present the Samajes may be making converts, they may even prevent people from becoming Christians, but they are also weaning their people away from ancient tradition which presents the most effective opposition to the Gospel. They are accustoming the East to the idea that a man can be saved without adherence to the old religious teaching.

Moreover this renewed vitality is largely an inspiration received from the activity of Christian bodies. When this is perceived by the Oriental he will cease to consider the offshoot, and turn his attention upon the roots of the new ideas.

Again, the Western is not qualified to combat neo-Hinduism or neo-Buddhism, even by a renewed emphasis to be laid upon Western dogma. We can safely leave to the Oriental Christian the task of protecting his faith against his own people, either by dogmatic definition, or by some method to be discovered by him, suited to the formation of the Eastern mind.

In the same way such matters as church-government and the forms of divine worship can be left to the Oriental Christian to create for himself. The village panchayat, the mass movement, the Buddhist system of ritual, all contain native elements which can be adapted to the usages of Church life. For Catholicism is not the product of a Church, still less of a sect. It is not the product of anything. It is an aspect of human feeling, of human thought which men, the world over, must recognize to be universal, at least if they realize their own humanity. Where men have really been *human* beings they have always been Catholics. There were Catholics in the ancient world of the West. They were the Greeks, and the only difference between the ancient Catholics and the mediæval Catholics lay in the place where they put the stress. The Greek stressed individual freedom, and the individual view of life. The mediæval stressed the corporate view of life and produced the trade-guild as well as the military orders and the guilds of the Church. But they both saw that nature and art and poetry were instinct with the beauty of the gods—they both had their Sacramental principle, only, because the Greek stressed the individual too strongly he was compelled to erect his civilization upon a slave basis, and he dragged the more noble Roman after him. On the other hand it was the Christian Church which introduced the solution which began the decomposition of slavery in the Græco-Roman empire, and finally dissolved it when the mediæval Church caused the serfs to vanish. Thus the Catholic of the middle ages was really more human than the "humanities" to which the Renaissance returned.

But both the Greek and the Mediæval possessed a Catholicism

which realized that God had put man into the world not merely to uphold the dictum that "the proper study of mankind is man," but to enjoy the whole of nature, and make the most of it while he can. Otherwise there was no particular reason why God should have put us here at all, and there was still less justification for an Incarnation unless life here was meant to be good and beautiful. Moreover, because Catholicism is a recognition of a divine plan for life it can never die, so long as the plan remains and men retain powers of perception, it will always recur, though the Roman and the European form of it may become a mere tradition of history.

Herein lies the key to the missionary problem. Catholicism in the East we cannot escape from. It is there already. In spite of the negation of Nirvana and the whole philosophy of the non-existence of things material, the Oriental has surrounded his worship with the cultivation of art and the adornment of nature. We have no need to transport Catholicisim as it grew in Europe to Oriental climes. We have only to give the human spirit of the East an opportunity to clothe the Christian Gospel with an Oriental interpretation of the Sacramental principle and the thing will be done. Our duty is to see that the Oriental spirit becomes Christian. We can leave the rest to the operation of the Incarnation, for He who clothed Himself in the form of Syrian humanity, and afterwards became *man* in the garb of the Latin, will also glorify Eastern humanity and its joy in the natural world by becoming incarnate there, and by revealing to the Christianity of the East that the Sacramental principle means for it the Spirit of Christ clothed with the humanity of the East. We shall then have an Oriental Catholicism.

Thus both the Protestant and the Catholic need to revise their attitude, the Protestant because he fails to perceive that Catholicism is not a mere matter of organization, or ritual, or thought, or even tradition, but the expression of the human spirit when it perceives that it has a God in the world,—there is no need to worry about bringing God into human life—the Catholic because he fails to see that the Sacramental principle is not the special discovery of those who have a certain way of celebrating the Eucharist, or a certain form of ecclesiastical hierarchy, but the possession of all who realize that nature

and art are inspired by the gods, the possession of those who have a love of all old things which at the same time are simple and good things, and especially the possession of those who realize that nature and human life have been even more richly glorified by the process which made God man. The modern Protestant has not yet broken away from the sectarianism which is the logical goal of Protestantism when it breaks away from the Sacramental principle. The modern Catholic is still an Ultra-montane, and when he cries "semper eadem," he does not refer to the faith which indeed never changes, but to its Latin garb. The Catholic has become a Protestant. He will have no dealings with the " humanities " of the East. Latin creeds, Latin ritual, Latin chants are to form the garb of the Gospel in East, though this is nothing short of sectarianism in its narrowest form. But the Protestant is already awake to Eastern needs. Already the human feelings of the Oriental are receiving recognition, as for instance, in the changed attitude of some of the Missions towards ancestor worship. The process of humanizing or catholicizing Christianity in the East has begun, and the Protestant has started it. The change of balance towards Oriental independence, which is being effected by the war, will go in favour of the Protestant, in so far as he is allowing more freedom to Oriental feeling, and thought, for the Protestant is saving his missionary work by becoming a Catholic.

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